The state of arts and entertainment reporting in Cape Town's community newspapers

by
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Declaration

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Abstract

This study analyses the state of arts reporting in Cape Town's community newspapers. Arts reporting is an under-researched field in journalism, also in South Africa. One of the noticeable exceptions was a report by Media Monitoring Project (now Media Monitoring Africa) in 2006 about the state of South African arts journalism. Unfortunately MMP (2006) omitted community newspapers, which have an extensive reach, from their research focus. Millions of copies of these papers are printed and distributed free of charge to niche markets in rural and urban areas. Community newspapers thus are an important, and under-researched, part of the South African media landscape in general, and specifically in relation to arts reporting. This study contributes to new knowledge by focusing on a sample of community newspapers in Cape Town in order to analyse the state of their arts reporting, and compare it to the findings of the MMP's (2006) research report, where applicable.

This study is informed by theories of normative functionalism, which view the ideal role of the media as contributing to, among others, an informed, educated, entertained and harmonious society. In order to analyse the research sample, both quantitative and qualitative research methods are employed. Newspaper content is analysed and interviews conducted with editors, journalists and other stakeholders in the arts and entertainment industry. The findings from the various methods are compared to achieve triangulation.

This study found that despite there being agreement on the importance of reporting on the arts, newsrooms were under-resourced and editors generally relied on news reporters with an interest in the arts – rather than specialist arts writers – to provide arts and entertainment content for their papers. There was also an overreliance on press releases supplied by public relations practitioners.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie analiseer die stand van kunsjoernalistiek in Kaapstad se gemeenskapskoerante. Kunsjoernalistiek is 'n onder-ontginde gebied van die joernalistieke veld, ook in Suid-Afrika. Een van die opvallende uitsonderings is 'n verslag in 2006 deur die Media Monitoring Project (nou Media Monitoring Africa) oor die stand van die Suid-Afrikaanse kunsjoernalistiek. Ongelukkig het MMP (2006) gemeenskapskoerante uit sy navorsingsfokus weggelaat. Die gemeenskapskoerante se invloed strek wyd, met miljoene eksemplare wat gereeld gedruk en gratis in nis-markte in stedelike en landelike gebiede versprei word. Gemeenskapskoerante is dus 'n belangrike, en onder-nagevorsde, deel van die Suid-Afrikaanse medialandskap oor die algemeen, en spesifiek in verband met kunsjoernalistiek. Hierdie studie dra tot die kennisveld by deur op kunsjoernalistiek in 'n steekproef van gemeenskapkoerante in Kaapstad te fokus, en dan die bevindings waar toepaslik met die van die 2006-verslag van die MMP te vergelyk.

Hierdie studie word onderlê deur teorieë van normatiewe funksionalisme, waarin die ideale rol van die media onder meer gesien word as bydraend tot 'n samelewing wat ingelig, opgevoed, vermaak en vreedsaam is. Kwantitatiewe en kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetodes word gebruik om die navorsingsvrae te beantwoord. Gepubliseerde koerant-inhoud word ontleed en onderhoude met redakteurs, joernaliste en ander belanghebbendes in die kuns-en-vermaak-veld gevoer. Die bevindings van die verskillende metodes word vergelyk om triangulasie te bewerkstellig.

Die studie het bevind dat alhoewel daar eenstemmigheid was oor die belangrikheid van kunsjoernalistiek in gemeenskapskoerante, nuuskantore nie genoegsaam toegerus is om dit behoorlik te doen nie. Redakteurs het byvoorbeeld oor die algemeen staatgemaak op nuusverslaggewers met 'n belangstelling in die kunste om kunsverslaggewing te doen – eerder as op spesialiste. Gemeenskapskoerante het ook oormatig staatgemaak op persverklarings wat deur buite-instansies aan hulle verskaf is.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Motivation

Having worked in the field of community newspapers for the past 15 years, I experienced first-hand how the industry changed over the past decade. Among these changes, which have impacted not only the community newspaper industry, but the greater print industry, is the expansion of print publications into the online realm and the experimentation with, among others, digital first and hybrid models (Daniels, 2014: 28). Daniels also notes, however, that implementation of this strategy has been "uneven and disparate" (2014: 28) and that "online is not bringing in sufficiently sustainable revenue" (2014: 39). The slow expansion online, coupled with the continued advertising support of community newspapers, as well as their wide reach, is what has encouraged me to maintain a focus in this study on print publications in the greater context of an increasingly digital world.

The reach of community papers is also extensive: In the second quarter of 2016, there were 237 free community newspapers with a verified distribution figure of 6.29 million and 54 paid-for community newspapers with a circulation of 392 000 registered with South Africa's Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC, 2016a and ABC, 2016b). In addition to this, are the 8 million copies of community newspapers affiliated to the Association of Independent Newspapers which are printed and distributed every month.

In comparison, there are 21 daily newspapers published in South Africa (PDMSA, 2014) which have a combined daily circulation of more than 1.1 million (ABC, 2016c) and 26 weekly papers (PDMSA, 2014) with a combined circulation of around 1.5 million (ABC, 2016c).

A cursory assessment of the community newspapers sector, however, will reveal that there still is a significant disparity in terms of the quality of reporting and presentation from one paper to the next, depending on the resources the titles have at their disposal. While much – in the form of training and development seminars arranged by the Forum for Community Journalists, and the annual community media awards and workshops for community media science writers, among others – has been and is being done to improve the quality of reporting in the community press in South Africa, I believe that one of the areas that has been sorely neglected is that of arts coverage.

The Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, for example, had no arts reporting training scheduled during its 2016 training cycle (http://www.iaj.org.za/images/stories/downloads/IAJ%20Calendar.pdf), and one of the few regular arts journalism courses available to arts writers is a seven-day course linked to the annual Cape Town International Jazz Festival

(Khan, 2012). As Ansell (2003: 42), who facilitates the aforementioned course, notes "… very little specialist training is available for the arts writer who aspires to do better ". In my experience of Cape Town's community newspaper industry, very few community newspapers have specialist reporters assigned to particular beats. Many community newspapers – even those owned by media conglomerates like Times Media, Media24 and Independent Media – have only one or two journalists assigned to a title. These journalists often have to be all-rounders, covering hard news, human interest stories, sport – and if they have the time, entertainment – as well as taking photographs to accompany their stories. In some cases these reporters also have to sub-edit copy and lay out pages. One can compare this to what Deuze (2006) described as "liquid journalism" whereby media occupations increasingly are less defined and confined to specific functions and tasks.

When I started working for Independent Newspapers' Cape Community Newspapers (CCN) in 2001, entertainment pages were little more than collages of arts snippets – most of them notices for upcoming events, or striking photographs of productions at theatres which had the resources to employ media liaisons tasked with sending promotional material to the media. There simply was no time, co-ordinated effort or properly trained staff to provide any kind of substantial arts reporting. But in 2007, when a new editor was appointed, there was an opportunity for a news desk restructuring and it was decided that one of the department's assistant editors would be tasked with managing the arts coverage in our then 14 titles (we now have 16). The person who was appointed entertainment editor had a love for the arts, had years of arts reporting experience, and also had a relevant qualification. Most importantly, she was willing to share her expertise with less experienced staff. Despite this person having subsequently retired, CCN still enjoys an excellent relationship with the arts industry, resulting in exclusive interviews.

This development took place against the steady growth of the community newspaper sector, while many other newspapers were in decline. After the release of the Audit Bureau of Circulations results in August 2015, Breitenbach (2015) noted that in the second quarter of 2015 mainstream newspapers had continued their decline and that in addition to their circulation decline, average adspend across the industry was down by 3.9% over a two year period – with community or local newspapers bucking the trend. In fact, notes Breitenbach (ibid), adspend on local or community papers increased by 6.8% between February 2014 and January 2015. A year later the 2016 ABC report for the second quarter of the year (April to June), once again reflected a growth in the community newspaper sector, with the net

distribution of these papers having increased from 6 208 620 copies in 2015 to 6 296 186 in 2016.

It is thus fair to assume that, in the community newspaper sector which seems to be holding its own in an ailing market (Breitenbach, 2015), there is tremendous potential to grow arts journalism, informing more people about the arts and providing a platform for up-and-coming artists through community newspapers. But as was indicated above, the South African community press is a large and uneven field, and the following question thus arises: What is the general state of arts reporting in the South African community press? Through this study, I will, however, only examine a sample of the community newspapers published in Cape Town as a case study, which will hopefully lead to further research interest in the arts reporting in the South African community newspaper market.

Preliminary investigation revealed that very little academic research into the South African community press has been published – and none that I could find with a specific focus on arts reporting in the South African community press. When the then Media Monitoring Project (MMP) – now Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) – and Open Research released *Hisses and Whistles: A baseline study into arts coverage in the South African mass media* in 2006, among its recommendations was that further investigation into arts reporting in the community press be done (MMP, 2006: 71).

Through this study, I hope to shed light on the workings and role of a under-researched field of the South African press. By assessing the state of arts coverage in this area of the media, insight will be gained into the role it plays – or has the potential to play – in the development of the South African arts industry as well as creating and developing cultural awareness among the readers of community newspapers. An investigation of this nature also creates the opportunity to highlight areas of weakness and opportunities for improvement in arts reporting. By highlighting the role of the community press in providing a platform for local artists and contributing to the development of local arts, a study of this nature could possibly contribute to changing perceptions of arts reporting and the importance thereof in current newsroom structures, and specifically in the community press.

I have chosen to focus on Cape Town because it is where I work and live. A variety of community newspapers are published in South Africa's big cities, including those owned by corporates and those which are independently owned. I would therefore like to examine Cape Town as a case study of the South African community newspaper sector.

Most of the community newspapers which cover Cape Town are published by Media24 and Independent Media, but there are at least seven independently-owned community papers,

which are affiliated to the AIP, which are distributed to areas within the city. Some of these will form part of my research sample. While one may question whether the findings for this sample can be generalised about community newspapers in South Africa, this focused research on community newspapers published in Cape Town can certainly serve as a stepping stone for further – and more extensive – research into the arts reporting in the community newspapers which serve the rest of the country.

1.2 Research problem

While the community newspaper sector is fairly under-researched, those who have written about it have highlighted, among others, this medium's ability to develop communities, give the proverbial voice to the voiceless and reach its audience the way no other mainstream medium can. Opubor (2000: 13) believes the community media should be viewed as a community communication system which responds to a community's diverse needs. One of these needs is to be informed, and Weinberg (2011: 4) notes that community media allow people to exercise their right to access to information as well as giving them the freedom of expression to share their views. On a broader educational and developmental level, community media also play a role in the socio-economic development, literacy, numeracy and cultural development of the communities they serve (Hadland & Thorne, 2003: 16). Furthermore, argues Weinberg (2011: 4), because community media are regarded as being accountable to marginalised communities, they have the potential to play an important role in deepening democracy. In addition to the significant roles that community media play – or have the potential to play – in the lives of their readers, in South Africa, community newspapers have an extensive reach, as has been outlined in detail above.

While access to the internet and mobile communications is increasing steadily, community newspapers' local focus and extensive reach allow them to communicate directly with and through their participating communities (Hadland & Thorne, 2003: 10). In addition to this, more South Africans aged 15 years and older have access to newspapers than they do to the internet (Omnicom Media Group, 2014: 72) and community newspapers still enjoy a bigger slice of the advertising pie than online news providers do (Omnicom Media Group, 2014: 73). This means that print, in particular the community newspaper sector, still has significant reach despite the growth of online media.

Those involved in the arts believe that they help communities to prosper, and make a significant contribution to the state and local economies, generating employment and providing

goods and services sought by the public, government, businesses and tourists (California Arts Council, n.d.). To this, Goss (2000: 1) adds that arts offer a "unique means of connecting us to our common humanity and offer communities a means to celebrate their heritage and a safe way to discuss and solve social problems".

Highlighting the importance of the arts and arts journalism in the South African context, Wasserman (2004: 139) points out that "artistic production still bears witness to cultural and ethnic divisions of the past", and that part of the role of arts journalism is to create a meaningful discourse about art. This is particularly complex in a diverse society like South Africa (Wasserman, 2004: 149). Of community newspapers' reporting responsibilities, Beisner (2005) emphasises that community newspapers must prioritise local matters at all costs and send the message that "this stuff matters". And among "this stuff", I believe, is local arts and cultural activity. Despite this, the *Hisses and Whistles* research notes that there are many who feel the media are not giving serious attention to the arts (MMP, 2006: 7) and that the field of arts journalism in South Africa has been altered by the growing influence of the "economic pole" (Botma, 2008: 83) – in other words that commercial pressures on the post-apartheid South African media, as was also noted by Wasserman and De Beer (2005: 39), led to, among others, the reduction of staff, juniourisation of the newsroom and the erosion of specialised reporting. An additional factor which is putting pressure on newspapers, is the exponential growth of digital communications and the need to expand online.

Janssen (1999: 330) emphasises how the limited allocation of space impacts on perceptions of art, noting that "the amount of newspaper space for information on art, particular art forms, specific works and producers is indicative of their cultural status at a given point" as is the location of arts news in the newspaper.

While Green (2010: 3) notes that many web-based journalism organisations are filling the gaps left as arts and culture journalism "rapidly disappear[s]" from the media, he warns that this development has led to the "ghettoisation" (2010: 6) of the reporting of arts and culture – by which he means that reporting is out of context and absent from broader progressive discussions. His argument is that it is essential that the arts be reported on in general newspapers so that they are read within the broader context of what else is happening in the community being reported on.

With its extensive reach and accessibility, my argument is this: what better medium to deliver arts and culture reporting to the community, than community newspapers?

Despite these arguments which emphasise the significance of the community press, the role of arts in society – and the importance of the media's reporting on it – I have been unable

to find any research with a focus on arts reporting in South Africa's community newspapers. In, fact, notes Weinberg (2011: 14), "the South African community media sector remains woefully under researched".

It is for the reasons outlined above – that arts journalism in the South African context faces significant challenges and that, in general very little research has been published about arts journalism (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007: 622) – and because the South African community press has such an extensive reach, that I believe it is worthy of academic investigation.

1.3 Focus

1.3.1 Defining arts and entertainment reporting

Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, who interviewed 20 arts journalists and critics to gain a better understanding of these professionals' perception of their role in society, note that arts journalists "shape and construct media texts relating to the arts" (2007: 622) and work in the criticism and coverage of "theatre, music and dance" (2007: 619). Their work is intrinsically linked to improving public appreciation of the arts (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007: 620). But arts encapsulates much more than just theatre, music and dance, and in his assessment of arts and culture in the digital age, Jokelainen (2013: 13) included not only articles about the performing arts, but also reporting on visual arts, books, films – and games – in his sampling. This assessment of arts and entertainment coverage, will also include reporting on visual arts, books, and film, but will also include coverage of live performances, such as stand-up comedy, poetry readings, among others.

Furthermore, arts journalists act as "cultural gatekeepers" between cultural producers and consumers (Scott, 1999: 47). In the South African context, research has shown that a significant part of arts journalism consists of reporting on upcoming events, giving coverage to the politics of arts and culture in the country, and interviewing artists (Wasserman, 2004: 141). For the purposes of this study, the term arts journalism will refer to all coverage of arts and entertainment as well as notices announcing events being staged by arts institutions or productions and/or products.

1.3.2 Defining community newspapers

The community press is an evolving sphere of media (Swanepoel & Steyn, 2010: 219-235), the clear definition of which is significantly impacted by changing technology and the growth of

online communities (Swanepoel & Steyn, 2010: 221). For the purposes of this research, it is, however, essential to have a working definition of what a community newspaper is. In their efforts to define the community press, Swanepoel and Steyn (2010: 220) cite the characteristics as highlighted by the Rural Development Institute. Among these are: regular publication; publication of community specific content; publication from an internal perspective; serving as local communications vehicles which allow communities to communicate with themselves and being supported by a combination of advertising, subscription and other revenue sources. They attribute the success of community media to their ability to "create a platform in which a community's more intimate news can be found" (2010: 227). Taking into account frequency of publication, ownership and the kind of community served, Swanepoel and Steyn ultimately defined a community newspaper as:

> Chain-owned, independent/private or state-funded/subsidised print/online publications that (a) serve geographically or socially defined communities by responding to their information needs through relevant news while (b) promoting community development and media diversity and (c) conforming to the principles of professional journalism [and] the core functions of newspapers... (2010: 235)

They also make reference to the "four most important characteristics of newspapers regardless of whether they are sold or for free" (2010: 235). These characteristics are universality, publicity, periodicity and actuality (Swanepoel & Steyn, 2010: 219), that is that a newspaper covers a range of topics; its contents are reasonably accessible to the public; it is published regularly; and has a focus on current events, respectively (Martin, 2003: 2-4). Howley's definition of a community newspaper, on the other hand, focuses on the ideal functions which should be fulfilled by community media within the community it serves. He notes:

> By community media I mean grassroots or locally orientated media access initiative predicated on a profound sense of dissatisfaction with mainstream media form and content, dedicated to the principles of free expression and participatory democracy, and committed to enhancing community relations and promoting community solidarity. (2005: 2)

With this definition, Howley highlights the alternative nature of community newspapers, serving as an alternate to mainstream, popular newspapers which are generally less accessible to the public than community newspapers are. As Naidoo (2008) notes, community newspapers are "touchable" and "although not mainstream like daily newspapers, community newspapers have a high reach and impact, attracting the attention of its readers to important issues and news surrounding them". After the democratisation of South Africa in 1994, the Media Development and Diversity Agency was established by the 2002 Act 14 of Parliament to address the need to promote media diversity and access to media. Where the MDDA Act's definition of community newspapers differs from others discussed in this study, is that it is solely focused on ownership and control: "any media project that is owned and controlled by a community where any financial surplus generated is invested in the media project" (www.mdda.org.za).

There currently exists, within the industry, a tension between independent grassroots publications, most of which are represented by the Association of Independent Publishers (AIP), and those owned by corporates such as Caxton, Media24, Times Media Group and Independent Media. Consequently, the AIP's working definition of a community newspaper is "publications that are independent of the 'Big Four' in content, publishing and distribution" (Daniels, 2014: 63). This study will not go into detail about the origins or merits of this debate, but will consider both corporate and independently owned community papers, as defined inclusively above by Swanepoel and Steyn (2010: 235)

The omission of community media from the MMP's baseline study provides an opportunity for research into arts reporting in this sphere of media, which was in fact, among the recommendations listed at the end of the *Hisses and Whistles* study:

The limitations of the current research into arts coverage meant that both online and community media could not be surveyed. However, one interviewee suggested that much of the activity in arts coverage – even if it is not mass media coverage – occurs here. There is potential to research how community and online media respond to the arts, and what role they can and do play in supporting the arts generally.

1.4 Preliminary study

1.4.1 Community newspapers in South Africa

According to Print and Digital Media SA's membership list (PMSA, 2014), 195 of the 291 free and paid-for community newspapers published across the country (ABC, 2016a) (as referred to in 1.1 of this chapter) are registered with the industry body, which was formed in 1996 (then as

Print Media South Africa) to "represent, promote, express interact and intervene in all matters concerning the collective industry and matters of common interest to members".

In addition to these PDMSA-registered community newspapers, there are also 210 independently owned titles which are affiliated to the Association of Independent Publishers.

The community newspapers registered with the PMDSA include weekly, biweekly and monthly, paid-for and free titles which. Most of these are published in English and/or Afrikaans, and among the titles are independently owned newspapers as well as those owned by media conglomerates such as Media24, Independent Media, Caxton and Times Media Group.

Chiumbu's believes that because these conglomerates own so many of South Africa's "community newspapers", a "true" community press does, in fact, not exist in this country (2010: 124). While this assertion may be supported by the MDDA's definition of community newspapers, other definitions and characteristics offered by Swanepoel and Steyn, Howley and the Rural Development Institute, however, indicate that ownership alone does not exclude a publication from being classed as a community newspaper.

1.4.2 The role of arts reporting

Through their research, Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007: 619) concluded that arts journalism is quantitatively different from news journalism and that arts journalists have the responsibility of communicating the transformative nature of the arts. Furthermore, it is Wasserman's (2004: 154) opinion that part of arts journalists' responsibility may be to "examine ways in which their work can contribute to a redefinition of culture and identity in post-apartheid South Africa". This is supported by Botma (2008: 84) who notes that one cannot disregard the potential role of arts journalists as "manufacturers of cultural capital in the building of a multicultural post-apartheid society". The concept of cultural capital, which originated in the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, refers to the cultural knowledge which one can use to one's social and economic advantage.

In her assessment of arts journalism in the South African press, Ansell (2003: 42) says media coverage of the arts generally falls into three main categories: consumer guidance, documentation and analysis. The *Hisses and Whistles* report (MMP, 2006: 5), however, highlighted a shortage of substantial analysis, with the bulk of arts reporting falling into the category of consumer guidance, which includes, for example, reporting on upcoming events. Ansell (2003: 42) furthermore notes that:

> In South Africa, a rich literary tradition was established by arts commentators in the historic black press. The Afrikaans press was similarly intent on establishing its own coherent cultural discourse. In the struggle era, radical papers risked banning through these debates, and specialist magazines like *Staffrider* took them further. All focused in various ways on identity and how it might be shaped, symbolised, mediated or distorted by forms of cultural expression. Along the way, they provided informative and mightily entertaining writing.

Wasserman highlights two important aspects regarding the relationship between the arts, the media and audiences:

1. The media-ethical considerations related to moral judgments about content and the possible effects of artistic production channelled to audiences via the mass media (2004: 142); and
2. The evaluative function played by arts journalists, that is how do they go about gathering arts news for evaluation and "how their work is informed by assumptions about the relationships between arts, media and society". (2004: 143)

While this study will focus on the latter consideration, examining how news managers, arts journalists and/or arts editors decide what will be given coverage on arts pages, some reference will also be made to the perceived impact this has on local arts.

1.5 Hisses and whistles at a glance

Among the criticisms of the media contained in MMP (2006) report was that arts journalists were producing shallow, event-driven reporting, fed to them by publicists and marketers.

The research gauged the state of arts reporting in the country and found that much of the arts reporting in the South African mainstream media focused more on *what's* happening, than critically engaging with *why* it's happening or the importance of the content being presented. The main objectives of the study, which assessed arts coverage during June and July 2005, was to determine which factors were affecting how the media communicates the arts to the public; to present data that future research could be compared to; and to stimulate public debate (MMP, 2006: 10). Ultimately the report made a number of recommendations which included training of publicists, artists and journalists and improved engagement between media and its management; and the arts and entertainment sector and the media.

Overall, the report painted a fairly bleak picture of arts reporting in South Africa, among its key findings being that:

- Arts coverage was considerably influenced by advertising and publicity
- Arts reporting suffered severe space constraints, with up to 60% of the space allocated for the arts, comprising advertising
- Most arts coverage simply reflects what is going on in the arts rather than offering any kind of critical or analytical engagement.
- Race and culture impact on how the arts are communicated in the media.
- A lack of young, skilled arts journalists coming up through the ranks is considered a crisis for the future of the profession and for the arts generally.

(MMP, 2006: 5-6)

The monitoring sample for the *Hisses and Whistles* research included 23 daily and weekly mainstream newspapers, 10 television programmes and six radio programmes. As the community newspapers were excluded from the study, this research project has been undertaken to assess the state of arts reporting specifically in the Cape Town community press. In his assessment of the *Hisses and Whistles* report, Finlay (2006: 28) notes that "one of the most important findings of the research was that arts coverage offers a clear example of how advertisers and media markets can defeat the ends of good journalism". According to the report, arts reporting is considered a niche area, which therefore has little reader interest – and therefore holds little appeal for advertisers (MMP, 2006: 23). Botma (2011: 251) also points out how economics impacts on, specifically arts reporting, in his assessment of arts reporting in *Die Burger* – a considerable amount of which is focused on arts events and festivals sponsored by the paper or its parent company, Media24. He notes how sponsorships lead to the commodification of the arts, and ultimately impacts on editorial content as a result of a publication's level of involvement in a particular event (2011: 257).

1.6 Gaps in the field of research

Preliminary research has revealed that while little formal academic research has been done into the South African community newspapers industry as well as arts reporting in this country, not one study has focused on arts reporting in the community press.

Highlighting the importance of arts reporting, Wasserman points out that good art critics "help audiences understand the world we live in …" (2004: 144) and that they "should play the role of facilitators" of dialogue, especially in South Africa where many have been kept silent" (2004: 149). In their assessment of the South African community press, Froneman and

Pretorius (2000: 60) describe the community media as "an important part of the media landscape which is often neglected". This study will focus specifically on assessing arts reporting in community newspapers published in Cape Town, as an introductory look into arts reporting in the sector which will hopefully prompt other scholars to conduct a national survey of how the arts is being covered in community newspapers in other parts of the country.

1.7 Problem statement

Flowing from the arguments above, two important ideas emerge which are central to this research. Both the community press in South Africa and arts reporting are important for the community in a multi-cultural post-apartheid South Africa to flourish.

In addition to the fact that the community newspaper sector has an extensive reach, providing local news for geographical communities and communities of interest; and niche markets for its advertisers, they can promote development in the community and add to media diversity.

Arts reporting has a role to play in the development of local arts industries, and often up-and-coming artists are more likely to reach audiences through their local community newspapers.

It has been noted by researchers that a limited body of research into arts reporting in South Africa exists and that the standards of arts journalism have declined. Preliminary research for this project indicated that while the community media in general are under-researched, no published academic work which focused on arts journalism in the community press could be found.

It is for these reasons that I believe it is worth investigating the current state of arts reporting in Cape Town's community press.

1.8 Theoretical framework

I will use a normative functionalist framework to undertake this study into the state of arts reporting in Cape Town community newspapers. At the core of this framework is the assumption that communication works should contribute toward the integration, continuity and order of society (McQuail, 2008: 63), and that society is a system of parts which work together, with the media being one of these (McQuail, 2008: 96-97). Fourie (2007b: 186) notes that the "bottom line of functionalism is a view of society as integrated, harmonious and a cohesive whole", and that all institutions operate together to maintain equilibrium, consensus and social

order. This framework also views media as powerful instruments of socialisation which can ideally "contribute towards integration, harmony and cohesion through information, entertainment and education" (Fourie, 2007b: 186).

These assumptions tie in with the definitions of community newspapers which have been offered by scholars such as Opubor (2000: 13), who emphasises that community media, should be viewed as elements of a community communication system and must respond to a community's diverse needs. According to McQuail (2008: 97-99), the social functions of the media include: i) providing information; ii) interpreting events and information; iii) expressing dominant culture and recognising new cultural developments; iv) providing entertainment; and v) mobilising readers.

This study also accepts that in addition to being expected to fulfil all the above mentioned functions, the media should also provide a range of information; give a voice to different cultural groups and views and provide a forum for debate; and be independent of outside influence, including that of the economic powers and government (Bennett, 1982: 31). Of the media, he notes: "The clash and diversity of viewpoints contained within them contribute to the free and open circulation of ideas…" (Bennett, 1982: 40)

Fourie points out that two thirds of media content is entertainment orientated (2007: 185) and that entertainment has become a dominant function and activity of the media (2007: 216). However, while the purpose of entertainment content is to entertain, it can also inform and educate media consumers on a manifest or latent level, about life and society.

This assessment of the state of arts reporting Cape Town's community papers, therefore seeks to investigate to what extent the community press is fulfilling its ideal role of, in particular, providing entertainment, promoting culture and recognising new forms and expressions thereof. Research will also draw on social responsibility theory – which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter – to establish how much arts reporting is included in the community press, whether it is providing a platform for differing viewpoints and, particularly important in a culturally diverse country such as South Africa, whether the community press is reflective of the diversity of South African society.

Fourie (2007b: 204) cautions, however, that in the new media environment, journalism is guided by what is interesting rather than what is important and the social responsibility of journalism has been undermined and that in post-modern society new views are emerging as to who is responsible for social responsibility.

McQuail (2008: 98) also points out that media function can refer to tasks of the media or motives and benefits as perceived by the media user. My research will focus on media content analysis and how some interested members of target audience respond to the coverage.

Criticism of functionalism is provided from different quarters, including the idea that audiences are regarded as passive researchers of information. In this study it is accepted that community media must operate with a model that acknowledges an active audience and should not see consumers as "dumb animals needing to be developed" (Berger, 1996: 6-7). Although Berger's contention of an active audience is accepted, all normative functionalist assumptions that the media can aid towards the development and ideal functioning of society are not rejected in the process in this study. Similarly, without rejecting the theory of normative functionalism altogether, it also takes note of criticism such as that by Couldry (2004a: 123), who argues that there are no "totalities such as societies and cultures that function as working systems", and accepts the point that the media are expected to play multiple roles and produce a diversity of content.

1.10 Research questions

The **general research question** for this study is:
What is the state of arts reporting and coverage in Cape Town's community newspapers?

Based on this general question, these **specific research questions** have been formulated:

1. How do Cape Town's community newspapers compare in terms of their coverage of the arts?
2. What resources have been allocated to Cape Town's community newspapers for arts coverage and the development thereof?
3. What kinds of arts reporting are included in Cape Town's community newspapers?
4. What are the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for community newspapers in Cape Town?
5. What role does the coverage of the arts in Cape Town's community newspapers play in the development and/or promotion of local arts and entertainment industries?

1.11 Methodology and approach

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods will be used to assess the state of arts reporting in the community newspapers. A sample of community newspapers published and distributed in Cape Town, will be monitored over a one-month period. Because it is "neither practical nor efficient" (Marshall, 1996: 522) to study all of the community newspapers, a quantitative sample will be drawn. Du Plooy (1997: 62) explains that when a researcher has "previous knowledge of the population, and/or the aim of a study", she may use her judgement to draw the research sample. This is referred to as purposive sampling, the advantages of which include that the "units selected are especially qualified to assist" in the study and that the researcher is able to ensure that the group parameters found in the population are represented in the research sample (Du Plooy, 1997: 63).

For the purposes of this study, the target population will include all of the community newspapers published in Cape Town, while the accessible population will be defined as only those community newspapers published in English and/or Afrikaans as these are the languages that are dominant among the community titles, and which the researcher is proficient in. I am aware that limiting my sample to English and Afrikaans newspapers immediately excludes a large portion of the population who may not be proficient of either of these two languages. According to the PDMSA's list of registered community newspapers, very few of them are published in black African languages, and those which are, include English articles alongside Xhosa and Zulu language pieces (PDMSA, 2014). Just fewer than half of those affiliated to the AIP (87, to be exact), however, are published in indigenous languages, or a combination of English or Afrikaans and an indigenous language (AIP handout, 2015).

A purposive sample of the accessible population will be selected for monitoring. This is described in greater detail in Chapter 3. For the purposes of this research undertaking, arts reporting will include reporting on music, theatre, books, dance, visual art as well as general entertainment and event notifications (see the working definitions above).

Firstly, the content of the different newspapers will be quantitatively analysed and compared, in order to answer Research Question 1 and 3. In addition to the quantitative analysis of the arts reporting in the selected sample, a qualitative research component will be included. According to Zhang and Wildemuth (2009: 1) qualitative content analysis is a particularly useful tool because it "goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific

manner". In this study qualitative content analysis will help to identify the role and nature of arts reporting in Cape Town's community newspapers, and help to approach answers to Research Question 1 and 3.

A qualitative approach will also involve in-depth interviews with editors, arts promoters, reporters who write about the arts and two former conveners of the judging panel of a national arts journalism contest. The aim will be to understand what kind of resources are allocated to arts reporting and what kind of engagement, if any, takes place between arts promoters and the media. This will help to answer Research Question 2, 4 and 5. (See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of the methodology).

1.12 Chapter outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provided an overview of the research undertaking.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter discusses previous research which has been undertaken in the field of art reporting; the community media and arts reporting in the media. The theoretical framework of functionalism will be outlined in more detail.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

This chapter provides a detailed description of the methodology used to gather information presented and to assess the state of arts reporting in the community press in South Africa.

Chapter 4: Presentation and discussion of results

In this chapter I present my findings and input from industry professionals as well as a discussion of what these findings mean for the field of arts reporting, specifically in the community press.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

Finally, I make recommendations relating to future research and arts reporting, based on the findings of this research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework and literature review

As was stated in Chapter 1, because I am looking at the role and function of arts journalism at community papers, the theory of normative functionalism is applicable. This theory is one which can be used to study the media and "describe the relationships among media, society and individuals" (Rabiu, 2010: 168). To this, Rabiu adds that "in its simplest form, the functional approach holds that something is best understood by scrutinising how it is used" (2010: 168).

While functionalist theory describes what role the media play in society, normative theory is concerned with what the media ought to be doing in society rather than that they are doing, (McQuail, 2008: 14). According to McQuail (2008: 162), normative theory refers to "the ideas of right and responsibility that underlie [the] expectations of benefit from the media to individuals and society". Using a combination of functional and normative theories will allow me to interrogate not only whether the community media are fulfilling their role in society, but also to assess how they are doing in terms of the normative expectations of the media.

The sources of these expectations, writes McQuail (2008: 162-163) "are those which stem from the historical context that has shaped the role of the media institution" and in most democracies, these expectations centre on the media being a carrier of news and former of opinion. In South Africa, writes Fourie (2007a: 178), most media policy is based on normative theory and is aimed at ensuring that the media fulfils its functions in society "in controlled and responsible way". Much of normative theory, Fourie (2007a: 179) adds, is derived from the positivistic approach which is focused on understanding how media work and what impact they have; what the functions and effects of media are and how media operations can be improved to achieve specific effects.

It is the assumption that the media are required to play "a role of some kind in society" (Fourie, 2007a: 179) that underpins normative theory and further research into the "actual performance of the media in society" to support these assumptions, gave rise to four specific normative media theories: libertarian, authoritarian, development and social responsibility theory, with the first two considered the basic press theories (Fourie, 2007b: 191). While authoritarian theory assumes the main function of the media to be the promotion of government's ideology and actions (Fourie, 2007b: 192), libertarian theory dictates that the media should be free of external censorship or coercion to publish anything (Fourie, 2007b: 193). Development theory relates to a media which is required to "make a positive contribution to the national development process" and one which doesn't put at risk the economic interests and development needs of society (Fourie, 2007b: 198). The fourth normative theory – and the

one which I will draw on in my study, is social responsibility theory, which acknowledges both the media's right to freedom and independence as well as its responsibilities to society (Fourie, 2007b: 194). This theory will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter.

2.1 Theoretical framework:

2.1.1 Functionalism

According to functionalist theory, the roles of the media in society are largely accepted as being closely linked to the provision of information, correlation, continuity, entertainment and mobilisation (McQuail, 2008: 97-98). This means the media, respectively, provide information; explain and interpret events or information; express the dominant culture (while recognising sub-cultures and cultural developments); provide entertainment for is audiences; and campaign for social objectives (Fourie, 2007b: 188).

Of the entertainment function of the media, Wright (1960: 620) noted that while entertainment may be seen as part of transmitted culture, it also provides "respite for the individual which, perhaps, permits him to continue to be exposed to mass communication..." Based on this notion, one can then deduce that media have a role to play in both cultural transmission and reducing the tension of their consumers, helping them relax and giving them a feeling of reward (McQuail, 2008: 97).

One can use a functional approach to conduct an institutional analysis of a mass medium or organisation in mass communication, "examining the function of some repeated patterned operation within an organisation" (Wright, 1960: 608). Added to this, McQuail (2008: 96-97) points out that functionalist theory explains social practices and institutions in terms of the "needs" of society and individuals and that through the functionalist lens, "society is seen as a system of working parts that each contribute to continuity and order, the media being one of these parts". Fourie (2007b: 187), however, notes that scholars have criticised functionalism because it assumes media will have the same functions for everyone in society; that functionalism doesn't provide for feedback, which has the ability to modify the message and context; and that functionalism doesn't acknowledge the importance of context when examining the functions of the media in society.

Wright emphasises the importance of examining the functions and dysfunctions which result from multiple news coverage by different types of media (Wright, 1960: 608) and warns that functions ascribed to the media do not exist in isolation of each other and that one function may have consequences for the other[s] (Wright, 1960: 619). Dysfunctions, as described by Rabiu (2010: 166) are "harmful or negative consequences for society" which may result from

mass communication media. As an example of this, Baran and Davis (2012: 179) point out that while fast food advertisements in the media could be functional for the fast food outlet or the economy, its consequences could be dysfunctional for obese children who are vulnerable to such media messages.

Elaborating on this, Rabiu interrogates media functions along with their potential dysfunctions, noting that while the media could fulfil the function of surveillance (2010: 169) and reporting on what is happening, a related dysfunction could be a heightened sense of anxiety in society (2010: 171). And while media may interpret the news and events for their consumers (2010: 172), there is also the possibility that these interpretations may not be accurate and that consumers may accept these interpretations without questioning them (2010: 175). When it comes to the function of entertaining media audiences, Rabiu (2010: 181) points out that the related dysfunction could be that media carry entertainment content which appeals only to the "lowest common denominator" or that it encourages consumers to "sit back and let others entertain them.

While McQuail (2008: 63) agrees that mass communication which can be seen as having functional consequences in one society can have dysfunctional consequences in another, he is not yet ready to discard functionalism as a useful theory in the study of the media, noting that "despite much reduced intellectual appeal, the language of functions has proved difficult to eliminate from discussions of media and society". This reliance on the "language of functions" and functionalism", was also evident when respondents in this study were asked what they felt the media's role was in society, with a specific focus on community newspapers and the way they report on arts and entertainment. Among the roles they said they expected the media to fulfil, were preserving culture, educating and uplifting audiences, all of which relate to aspects of functional and normative theory. Because my research has shown that much of what my respondents expect from the media can be aligned with the principles of functionalist and normative theory, I will use these two theories to examine arts reporting in community newspapers as it relates to the media's function to entertain and survey and report on the communities they serve.

Elaborating on this focus on the importance of context, Baran and Davis (2012: 14-15) point out that it is normative theory which explains how media ought to operate in order to realise a set of ideal social values – and that one can only judge the worth of the media against the ideals espoused in the social system in which these media operate. Expanding on the history of including context as a key consideration in media studies, Rühl (2008: 30) notes that early social scientists who were studying the making, buying and reading of journalism

products paid close attention to societal issues of the time, such as industrialisation, migration, literacy and democratisation.

Arguing in favour of taking a societal systems approach to journalism research, Rühl (2008: 29) emphasises the importance of taking into consideration the social and cultural backgrounds of journalists and journalistic organisations who make decisions about what is published in the media. According to Rühl (2008: 28), in a globalising world, society system approaches are "unavoidable in order to better understand the function of journalism in society and its difference from other forms of public communication". He further notes that systems theory, which allows one to study journalism as a system of society, doesn't look at journalists as "total individuals" but rather, looks at journalistic producers and recipients as "societal role structures" (2008:28). The collective term for a theoretical system approach of generalised assumptions and functional relations is "structural functionalism", the best known representative of which is American sociologist Talcott Parsons. His theories were further developed by German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, who considered communication to be the most sophisticated expression of human ability and who worked out "decisive and coherent thoughts for a functional theory of world society which came to be known as communication system theory" (Rühl, 2008: 31).

According to Luhmann's definition, the mass media comprises "all those institutions of society which make use of technical means of production for the purpose of dissemination of communication" (Bechmann & Stehr, 2011: 3), arguing that rather than disseminating truths, the media "organise information", the end result of which is communication. He also argued that rather than directly affecting public opinion, media influenced opinion through framing and that rather than presenting an image of reality the media create a reality which they communicate to their consumers (Bechman & Stehr, 2011: 6), resulting in the existence of two realities: the one in which the media operate and the reality which the media create (Bechmann & Stehr, 2011: 3). Supporting this, Fourie (2010: 177) argues that "media have become a culture in and for themselves; pretending to mirror or represent reality".

Drawing on these arguments, I will attempt to assess how closely the "reality" being created by the community newspapers included in this study, reflects the "reality" in which they operate, that is, whether they are including in their "created reality" the artistic endeavours and events happening within the communities they operate in.

2.1.2 Normative theory

In his discussion of the history of normative theory, Nyre (2009: 4) notes that since the 1920s, three research traditions have developed: social engineering, administrative research and critical research. Social engineering, he notes, has a "highly visible value orientation" and is a form of progressive research which, after World War I, aimed to invent and implement new structures in society (2009: 5). Its contemporary version is action research, which is normative in that it aims to improve the situation of the people involved in the research project (2009:5). Critics of this kind of research, however, have described this progressive ideology as "naïve" and its proponents as "the new priesthood" (Nyre, 2009: 6).

The second research tradition of normative theory, administrative research, was developed during the 1940s and refers to research justified by the values of an existing institution in society, whether a media company, NGO, state department or local community, an example of which is statistical media research (Nyre, 2009: 7). Administrative research, notes Nyre, aims to be as neutral as possible (2009: 9), and the researcher is "simply not allowed to promote his convictions in the way that social engineering presumes" (2009: 8).

From the 1960s, the focus shifted to a critical research tradition, which aims to be as partisan as possible, with researchers driven by a sense of right and wrong (Nyre, 2009: 9) and having a moral obligation to speak out against manipulation by the media (Nyre, 2009: 10). Nyre further notes:

> The label, critical research, was introduced with the socialist theory of the Frankfurt school after World War II, but gained widespread political momentum from 1968 onwards. It typically has a clearly formulated value orientation that the researcher has formulated and therefore there is always a notable intensity of ethical engagement. (2009: 9)

For the purposes of this study, I will be following the administrative research tradition with the aim of being as objective as possible and ultimately using the knowledge gained to try to improve public communication (Nyre, 2009: 11) of the arts in the Cape Town's community newspapers.

Of the specific normative theories, which include libertarian, authoritarian, development and social responsibility theory (Fourie, 2007a: 178), I will be drawing on the last, which is underpinned by the right to freedom of publication, coupled with an obligation to society (Fourie, 2007b: 194), as well as the requirement to maintain high standards. According

to this theory, the media should be accountable to society – and have mechanisms in place to ensure this (McQuail, 2008: 185). Social responsibility theory also upholds objectivity over commentary, the balancing of opposing viewpoints, maintaining the role of neutral observer for the journalist (Benson, 2008: 2593) and demands that the media be truthful and relevant, providing an accurate reflection of the community they serve (McQuail, 2008: 172) – all of which is in line with the administrative research tradition. Citing the report of the 1947 Hutchins Commission in America – an inquiry into criticisms of sensationalism, commercialism and concentration of media ownership (McQuail, 2008: 170) – Ward (2009: 229) notes that the press should provide a "representative picture of the constituent groups in society". Added to this, Gurevitch et al (2005: 16) emphasise that media are expected to reflect a "multi-faceted reality as truthfully and objectively as possible, free from any bias, especially the biases of the professionals engaged in recording and reporting events".

A part of the community (or society) that the media – in this case, the community newspapers which form part of this study – are expected to reflect accurately and fairly, is the arts and entertainment landscape, and so, using the theories relating to how we believe the media ought to be operating and what we believe their role and function ought to be, this study will seek to interrogate how well the community is reporting on the arts and also why it is important for reporting on the art sector to be of a high standard.

On the media's responsibility to play an upliftment and developmental role, Ansah (1988: 7) argues that one of the functions of communication is to provide the space for social interaction and participation, and that to serve the ends of development, mass media should provide a "marketplace for the exchange of comment and criticism regarding public affairs".

Because the arts play such a significant role in the upliftment and development of communities, a matter which is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, I believe community newspapers are the perfect place for the development and promotion of local arts and arts initiatives to take place. I also believe that it is often on the pages of local papers that valuable interaction and participation, such as that referred to by Ansah, often take place.

In the South African context, Fourie emphasises, current media policy is aimed at achieving two primary goals or functions – normatively, the media are expected to play a key role in development and nation-building, while also adopting a market paradigm with the aim of liberalising the media from monopoly control, leading to "increased competition and fragmentation of audiences" (Fourie, 2005: 26).

The media, however, do not always function "optimally" or in line with the ideals espoused in normative theory, and "responsible journalism," Luce (2013: 394) point out, "is

built upon the assumption that journalists understand that their actions affect those around them". Despite these idealistic ideas of what role the media ought to be serving, McQuail (2008: 164) notes that while the media are expected to serve the public interest, most media were, in fact, established to serve their own goals, be they cultural, political or economic. In addition to this, audiences and advertisers also have their own ideas about what the media's role ought to be (McQuail, 2008: 163). To this, Fog (2013: 3-4) adds that media get most of their revenue from advertising and so they often seek to satisfy the interests of advertisers – which are not always the same as the interests of their consumers. He even argues that, in the case of newspapers which rely entirely on advertising for their revenue, readers needs' are only served if they happen to coincide with those of advertisers and that media not only satisfy consumer preferences, but contribute to forming them (Fog, 2013: 4). In addition to this, notes Fourie (2005: 24), emphasis on commercial interests results in increased commercialisation, popularisation, repetition, less depth and less diversity in the media. These factors, among others, have the ability to work against an ideally functioning media system.

On the media's ability to set the news agenda, Rühl (2008: 33) refers to journalism, public relations, propaganda and advertising as "persuasive systems" and believes that to differentiate journalism from public relations, propaganda and advertising, a unique function of journalism must be identified. He points out that in the 1980s he had described these unique functions as performance and the "provisions of themes for public communication" (2008: 32), that is, setting the news agenda.

In their research, which was focused on the coverage of blockbuster movies, Kristensen and From (2015: 484-485) lamented that press coverage of the arts had transformed "from critical, cultural reflection to publicity-driven journalism, entertainment and celebrity gossip" and that there had generally been a "decline in arts and cultural journalism" which has been increasingly informed by PR. Of particular interest on this point, will be the impact of public relations and the increasing reliance on "ready to use" press releases on the ability of Cape Town's community newspapers to fulfil the expectations of normative media theory.

Moloney, Jackson and McQueen, who describe news journalism and public relations as independent reporting and favourable reporting respectively, warn that the two have "incompatible outcomes" (2013: 259) and that what they refer to as "PR-isation of content" is a "colonisation of the news media by stealth" (2013: 260). Explaining the term "PR-isation", they note that it is the "professional state where PR attitudes are incorporated into journalism's mindset and where PR-biased material is published without sourcing (2013: 261). In addition, they write that:

> Structural and commercial development in the media industry have led to changes in journalism practice which are eroding the crucial practices of fact-checking and independent investigation. (Moloney et al, 2013: 260)

Among the factors which have made it easy for PR to infiltrate the newsroom, they list the drop in the number of journalists employed in newsrooms while the PR industry is growing (Moloney et al, 2013: 264); the fact that the internet has provided almost unlimited space for publication; pressure on journalists to produce more copy; and that journalists are increasingly deskbound, with less time to develop sources or do original investigation (Moloney et al, 2013: 264). Furthermore, notes Fourie (2005: 19), in South Africa, we have a first world media system operating in what's effectively a third world setting "divided between rich and poor, literate and illiterate, developed and underdeveloped".

In my experience, how this plays out in a media environment where entertainment pages are largely populated with PR copy, is that well written, professionally packaged copy is given preference over less well written or professionally presented material, which, understandably puts the arts practitioner or promoter with less access to public relations resources, at a severe disadvantage. Questions about the use of PR material, on entertainment pages in particular, have been included in the interview question lists for both editors and PR practitioners and will be further discussed in the chapter on research findings.

With the primary goal of public relations being the subjective promotion of a particular product, organisation, or event, the use of such material is, arguably, in contrast to, not only the accepted requirement that news reporting be objective, but also to the social responsibility model of normative media theory. One of my research aims, therefore, will be to interrogate how newsrooms are meeting the challenge of providing good quality arts coverage without dedicated arts reporting staff and in an era when many may simply succumb to the lure of using freely available PR content.

2.2 Literature review

2.2.1 Community newspapers and the media landscape

Before any real discussion about community newspapers and their role in society can take place, it is important to understand what defines community newspapers, and the context in which they operate. According to Hadland and Thorne (2003: 11), any consideration of community media has to start with three basic questions: What is community, how does one define community media, and why are community media considered important? I agree that this is a good starting point, so will be structuring this chapter, broadly around these three questions.

2.2.1.1 Defining community

Communities can be defined on the basis of criteria imposed by the researcher, or according to individuals' self-identification, and researchers in general use two criteria to define community: group membership and propinquity, which refers to the physical or psychological proximity between people (Guetzkow, 2002: 14). Guetzkow also points out that communities can include religions, cities, neighbourhoods, schools or ethnic groups (2002: 1).

Wilbur defines community in terms of commonality, noting that "community seems to refer primarily to relations of commonality between person and objects" (1997: 8). He also believes that when a group of people identify as a community, they do so because they have qualities, identity and ideas in common. The roots of the concept of community, he notes, "are sunk deep into rather abstract terrain" (1997: 8). And while the term "community" is used with a fair amount of flexibility, in common usage it refers to the location in which a community of people is gathered.

Langa (2010: 5) emphasises that community boundaries can represent a geographical space, like "a nation, province, city or even a village where community members share a lot in common, such as cultural practices, beliefs and language". He also points out that while "community" often refers to territories, it can also refer to communities of interest or "sub-cultures existing within a larger community" (2010: 16).

In his efforts to define the concept of community, Foster (1997: 25) warns that while communicate and community share a lineage, and though communication serves as the basis of community, they cannot be equated. Walls (1993: 156) believes that the concept of community emerges from "the mutual commitment, mutual involvement, mutual responsibility and mutual respect between society and its individual members".

In the article "Communities of tomorrow", however, Stevenson (2002: 737) disputes that sameness is integral to the formation of communities and argues that communities are largely made up of people with different needs, views and identities, and that what is, in fact, central to community, is co-operation.

Exploring the definition of the concept of community in the African context, Opubor argues that it is problematic because, during nation-building efforts in different parts of Africa during the post-colonial period, power was centralised and the focus was on national unity, shifted away from "differences, particularities and specifics" (2000: 11). But, he writes:

> Many Africans do not feel they live in their nation, they know they live in their communities. It is there, in their communities, that they seek to find work, to raise their families, to cure their sick, to grow old, die and be buried. (2000: 12)

Furthermore, note Hadland and Thorne (2003: 11), globalisation has led to the formation of transnational communities, interest groups and social movements, and that the growth of information and communication technologies (ICT) has led to the development of new notions of community so that they can be viewed as being either virtual or real.

However, while the notion of a community can have strong non-physical connotation "so that it is possible to speak of 'virtual reality' and 'virtual communities'", the idea of community still maintains a strong reference to people in geographical proximity, writes Opubor (2000: 12). He also notes that human community is built on the "exchange of initiatives, information and meanings in the process of creating and maintaining a group identity" (2000: 12-13).

In Hadland and Thorne (2003:12), media analyst Ole Prehn refers to "community areas" and "communities of interest". The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act of 1993 – which has since then been updated – also referred to these two kinds of communities, but included in the definition of communities of interest, institutional communities. The Act went on to define a community as "any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific ascertainable common interest (Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993: 6). Louw, cited in Hadland and Thorne (2003: 12) adds to this that community should refer to people who live in the same area and share the same problems and interests.

While all of the above illustrate the widely varying definitions of the idea of community, the majority of the community newspapers in my research sample serve geographical communities – while one serves a religious community – and so my focus will be

on how these papers serve the geographical communities and the community of interest they are distributed to. But the idea that community is also about relationships between people who have something in common will also be retained in respect to a focus on the coverage of arts and culture in the community press.

2.2.1.2 Debates around what defines a community newspaper

As was briefly discussed in chapter 1, there is considerable disagreement among many scholars about the use of terminology when referring to local or community journalism. In South Africa, debates about the definition of community newspapers focus largely on issues around ownership – as is illustrated by the MDDA and AIP definitions of community newspapers outlined previously.

Writing about the community media space in Australia – although it can arguably also be applied to the South African context – Hanusch (2015: 817), however, places the focus on geographic location. While papers which operate outside of metropolitan areas have been referred to as "community, country, local or regional" newspapers, he writes, a common approach has been to define community newspapers as those operating in a distinct geographic space and with a local focus. While the geographic spaces served by the newspapers included in my research sample, fall within the boundaries of a big city rather than outside of the metropolitan boundaries, their focus remains distinctly local and different from coverage included in the mainstream daily newspapers which serve the city.

Opubor broadens the discussion to include how media operate, access to them as well as ownership of them, noting that community media should be viewed as elements of a community communication system that responds to a community's diverse needs (2000: 13). He adds that:

> It is important that we do not marginalise the community in favour of the media. The bottom line in discussing community media is an understanding of the nature of the community which underlies media practice, access and ownership. (Opubor, 2000: 12)

While South Africa's first commercial community newspapers date back to the 1800s when the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser/Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigte* was first published (Froneman & Pretorius, 2000: 61), Hadland and Thorne (2003: 13) note that the roots of contemporary definitions of community media in

South Africa can be traced to the Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves conference held in the Netherlands in 1991, even though the conference mostly focused on broadcasting issues (2003: 14). They note, however, that over the years, the notion of community media has come to incorporate a range of qualities, among them "giving everyday people access to the instruments of radio, television and computer communication". But, they point out, community media involves much more than merely access to these instruments.

Majozi (2000:141) writes that in South Africa in the pre-1990s, community media largely took the form of the alternative press as well as "underground communications" such as graffiti, pamphlets and posters. Berger (1996: 4) agrees that community media was "forged in the struggle" and has a legacy that is strongly human rights orientated. But, he warns that having a developmentalist agenda is not enough to qualify a medium as being part of the community media sphere (1996: 6). Berger (1996: 1) believes that community media should be defined in relation to purpose, social conditions and a particular ethic. Drawing on his own experience in the community media sector, he emphasises that it is essential to distinguish community media from terms such as "grassroots media, participatory media, alternative media and local media" (1996: 2).

He therefore differentiates between five different kinds of media: state or public media; government media; corporate media; independent (commercial) media; and community media (Berger, 1996: 2). Outlining the characteristics of community media, Berger draws on a list of features devised by South Africa's National Community Media Forum (NCMF), which includes ownership or control by the community it serves; ownership structure; accessibility to its community; these media serve geographical communities or interest groups; and aim to serve disadvantaged communities (Berger, 1996: 3). Based on the practice in South Africa, further criteria come into play: community media are often linked to a social movement in history; an ethical alignment and journalistic mission which has resulted from this social movement; and involvement in activities such as cultural enrichment, job creation, skills development and access to information; and in addition to these, Berger (1996:3) also adds locality.

While Siemering (cited in Hadland &Thorne, 2003: 14) notes that community or participatory media should be "initiated and controlled by members of the community to express their concerns, needs and aspirations without interference, Hadland and Thorne point out that how one defines ownership by the community remains contested. In addition, there is also the ongoing protest by independently owned publications against the classification of free sheets published by big media corporations, as "community newspapers". As the discussion in

Chapter 1 indicated and motivated, this study includes in its definition of community newspapers both independently-owned and corporate-owned publications, with their common ground being that they serve niche markets – in this case, geographical areas or a specific religious grouping – are distributed free of charge and provide a platform for expression for the communities they serve. Ultimately, I agree with Terry (2011: 73), who, citing the USA's National Newspaper Association, notes that the "distinguishing characteristic of a community newspaper is its commitment to serving the information needs of a particular community".

2.2.1.3 Why are community newspapers important?

There are a total of at least 501 community newspapers in South Africa, among them free and paid-for community titles published weekly, twice weekly, monthly and twice a month; and independently owned or owned by media conglomerates (AIP handout, 2015; PDMSA 2014; ABC, 2016a, ABC, 2016b). Nearly half of these titles – 210 of them – are independently owned and affiliated to the Association of Independent Publishers, with the remaining 291 owned by Caxton, Media24, Times Media Group and Independent Media. Collectively these titles, some paid and others distributed free of charge, serve diverse audiences across the country. My research sample will include both corporate-owned and independently owned titles, but will only only include a purposive sample of the 47 community newspapers are published in Cape Town, seven of which are independently owned, 15 owned by Independent Media and 25 by Media24. Of the total number of community newspapers distributed in Cape Town, five are distributed monthly, one fortnightly and the rest weekly, with all of the independently owned titles being distributed either monthly or fortnightly. Collectively, more than 1.4 million copies of the 47 community newspapers which cover different parts of Cape Town are printed and distributed or sold around the city (ABC, 2016a, ABC, 2016b).

As was discussed in Chapter 1, community newspapers must have a focus that is "relentlessly local" and must identify important issues and news in the community and inform citizens about these issues (Beisner, 2005). Hanusch (2015: 820) believes that community newspapers play a vital role in ensuring representation of local matters in the media, which is supported by Beisner (2005) who notes that community newspapers must prioritise local matters at all costs and send the message that "this stuff matters". Naidoo (2008) believes newspaper readership is no longer measured by its status but by its "relevance, reach and reliability", and that what community newspapers do that dailies cannot, is "serve their local neighbourhood and be the number one source of local news..."

Community media which is independent of the state, and accountable to marginalised communities, writes Weinberg (2011: 4) in a discussion document on community media, has the potential to play an important role in deepening democracy. He also highlights the role of community media as a tool for empowerment, noting that it allows people to exercise their constitutional rights to freedom of expression and access to information (ibid).

Commenting on the role of community media, Hadland and Thorne, and Langa focus on this media's ability to integrate communities and contribute to the growth of democracy. While Langa (2010: 16) notes that a community newspaper is an important component in the process of community integration and communication, Hadland and Thorne (2003: 1) believe that a vibrant small media sector represents an essential component of sustainable development and a stable democracy and that the "local focus of community media allows it to communicate directly with and through its participating communities (Hadland &Thorne, 2003: 10).

According to Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS, 2002:9), community media provide the means for cultural expression, community discussion and debate. It supplies news and information and facilitates political engagement. And through access to production and consumption of relevant communications, community media forms a collective platform for community empowerment. Often this empowerment plays out as an assumed right of access to those who write for, or run community publications, with Terry (2011: 74) noting that readers feel free to approach community journalists, with this access eventually becoming a reader's right rather than a privilege. Citing a community newspaper publisher, Terry (2011: 76) also notes that community journalists are expected to be instrumental in their communities, rather than being "mere instruments". In their questioning of the importance of community media, Hadland and Thorne cite the thoughts of local and international media analysts. Among the opinions are that community media:

- Provides a platform for the debate and public dialogue.
- Deals with commercial media's inability to tackle local issues in an era of globalisation.
- Plays a role in socio-economic development, literacy, numeracy and cultural development.
- Plays a role in bringing about social cohesion and identity building.

(Hadland &Thorne, 2003: 16)

They point out that there have been three notable developments in the community print sector since the 1990s, among them the combination of emerging black print media enterprises and not-for-profit print organisations; the emergence of a range of community newsletters; and the formation of the Independent Media Association in 2003 which represents community and independent print media initiatives and freelancers (Hadland & Thorne, 2003: 53). Also of significance in the sector was the establishment of the Print Development Unit in 2000, which preceded the establishment of the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) and which aimed to help the growth of the emerging print media sector (ibid).

Referring to community newspapers whose reporters live in the areas they cover, Giles (2006) writes that "an important kind of journalism takes place when journalists are embedded in their communities, with stories conveyed largely through the printed pages of local newspapers".

In a report on the phenomenal growth of the US weekly community newspaper, the *Cape May Country Herald*, Zelnick (2006: 20), attributes this upswing largely to their decision to focus on local news, including local government, college news and by being actively involved in their community by attending "about 40 meetings each month". Emphasising the importance of being entrenched in the communities they serve, Kingston (2006: 59) writes that community journalists have a stake in the stories they cover, noting that "community journalism is about reacting to your daughter's nursery being demolished... about getting the real voice of the community out there". And it is this approach to reporting, writes Hanusch, which results in community journalism being "part of the social cement which binds communities together".

2.2.2 Arts and entertainment reporting

2.2.2.1 Defining the arts – and entertainment

The Department of Arts and Culture's White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996: 7) defines "the arts" as referring to, but not restricted to "all forms and traditions of dance, drama, music, music theatre, visual arts, crafts, design, written and oral literature all of which serve as means for individual and collective creativity and expression through performance, execution, presentation, exhibition, transmission and study".

The MMP (2006) *Hisses and Whistles* study, however, restricts itself to six key genres when defining the arts: dance, theatre, film, literature, visual arts and music. The writers also note that disciplines that could be counted as art, such as architecture or design have not been included, that literature includes all fiction and poetry and that the term "visual arts" is widely

accepted to include all forms of fine art or derivatives of fine art, as well as the applied arts (MMP, 2006: 12).

In his definition of "the arts", Guetzkow (2002:12) points out that different research projects rarely define the arts in the same way "and often the same study will include diverse activities and organisations, including professional opera companies, neighbourhood cultural centres, [and] community arts programmes...". As highlighted in Chapter 1, I have attempted to strike a balance between what has been traditionally identified as arts reporting in academic studies, and other disciplines, such as comedy and multidisciplinary events which featured prominently in my research sample, and which is dealt with in detail in Chapter 4. This study therefore includes in its definition of arts and entertainment visual arts, books, film, music, live performances such as stand-up comedy and poetry readings, as well as festivals and multidisciplinary events. This will include reporting by specialist arts writers, general reporters, or copy derived from public relations material. For the purposes of this study, references to arts reporting will include stories relating to arts and entertainment in both news and dedicated entertainment sections of the publications being assessed.

In the South African context, a significant part of arts journalism consists of reporting on upcoming events, giving coverage to politics of arts and culture in the country, and interviewing artists (Wasserman, 2004: 141), while Jaakkola (2015: 541) defines arts and cultural journalism as encompassing "a distinct subfield of journalism on arts, or wider defined, on culture, pertinent to the journalistic ideology and its practices, but differentiated from them through specialisation".

2.2.2.2 Why is it important to study the state of arts reporting?

In Chapter 1 it was discussed that scholars consider arts reporting to be different from news reporting and that while it was widely believed that it was important to report on the arts, there was a shortage of analysis and engagement with the arts. To this, Wasserman (2004: 139) adds that "in South Africa, artistic production still bears witness to cultural and ethnic divisions of the past" and part of the role of arts journalism is to create a meaningful discourse about art, which is particularly complex in a diverse society like South Africa (Wasserman, 2004: 149). The art critic or journalist, therefore, has a significant role to play in facilitating dialogue in a society which has a diversity of "cultural orientations, class differences and a historic privileging of the taste aesthetics and morals of certain minorities" (Wasserman, 2004: 149). Wasserman (2004: 154) also feels that part of arts journalists' responsibility may be to

"examine ways in which their work can contribute to a redefinition of culture and identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

Research has shown that while the arts may seem to have "lofty ideals" far removed from the real experiences of everyday people, they play a significant role in human development, bridging social divides and economic development of communities (California Arts Council, n.d.; Goss, 2000:1; Guetzkow, 2002: 12; Hanna, Patterson, Rollins & Sherman, 2011:8).

The California Arts Council notes that the arts "help communities to prosper as part of a well-diversified 21st century economy" and that they "make significant contributions to the state and local economies, generating employment and tax revenues and providing goods and services sought by the public, government, businesses and tourists".

In her exploration of the relationship between arts and social capital, Goss (2000: 1) writes that the arts offer a "unique means of connecting us to our common humanity" and that they allow us to "create together and to discover shared misunderstandings". She also notes that the arts can help communities understand and celebrate their heritage and that "a growing body of research suggests the arts can be a valuable engine of civic renewal".

Hanna et al's (2011) report focuses on the physical and intellectual impact of the arts on people in three age groups: early childhood, adolescent and older adults. Among the benefits their research highlights, are improved school readiness among young at-risk children; greater use of complex language among young adults; and better overall physical health among older adults (Hanna et al , 2011:8). On a socio-economic level, arts and culture in society help to promote social and economic goals through local regeneration, developing talent and innovation, among others (Mowlah, Niblett, Blackburn & Harris, 2014: 3).

2.2.2.3 Newsroom challenges and the impact on how arts and entertainment are being covered

In my own experience, community journalists who are reporters and sub-editors also take their own photographs to be used with their stories, and of late, they are also making video stories to be posted online. While multi-tasking may be commonplace for many reporters who have worked at a community newspaper, Deuze (2006) notes that this is becoming the norm and that the concept he refers to as "liquid journalism" (defined and discussed in Chapter 1) can be applied to specialisation as well, with fewer reporters working "beats" and being required to be all-rounders who are called on to report on different kinds of news, including entertainment.

Recognising the need to develop the sphere of arts and entertainment writing, in 2012 the Nieman Foundation offered a fellowship in arts and culture reporting. Explaining the need for the fellowship, the Foundation noted on its website: "Despite the growth in the arts and culture in recent years, news organisations are employing fewer full-time journalists to report on these topics"... and as a result "the public is offered fewer insights about the meaning of art in their lives and how to appreciate arts and culture" (www.nieman.harvard.edu).

While Botma says one cannot disregard the potential role of arts journalists as "manufacturers of cultural capital in the building of a multicultural post-apartheid society" (2008: 84), Ansell (2003: 42) believes that "arts journalism is in a crisis in South Africa, and no one seems to care". Having served three years on the judging panel of the South African Arts Journalism Awards which were launched in 2013, Ansell's early comments about entries included that "the downside [of judging] was reading so much arts writing that displayed a lordly disdain for the most basic tenets of journalism", with her criticism largely focused on the lack of context, use of material from press releases, "gushing", generic praise and a lack of fact-checking in many of the entries (Ansell, 2013).

After the announcement of the winners of the 2015 instalment of the competition, however, Ansell, now as convenor of the judging panel, seemed more upbeat about the state of local arts reporting – or at least the arts reports entered into the competition. Asked to comment on the entries, she noted that "the range of writers, and the depth and commitment of the content, has been impressive. In a time when newsrooms are faced with shrinking resources, it's been encouraging to see how some newsrooms still make the effort to source original, high-quality arts writing" (Books Live, 2015)

In his analysis of the entries to the 2013 and 2014 South African Arts Journalism Awards, Botma writes that the perception still exists that during apartheid, South African arts journalism experienced its "golden age" but has faced many challenges since then, "including a perceived loss of (political) purpose and a downgrading in importance in many newsrooms" (2015: 2). The competition, launched in 2013, attracted 94 individual entrants that year, but only 55 the following year (Botma, 2015: 6). The 2015 awards, however, saw an increase in entries to "more than 100" (Books Live, 2015).

In the two years which are the focus of Botma's research, he found that while there had been a fair number of entries in the "so-called elite genres such as visual arts, dance and literature", there had been a high number of entries in the "various" category, which allowed portfolios of different forms. This, Botma believes "is consistent with what has been called the rise of the generalist in South African arts journalism due to various pressures in the

newsroom" (2015: 7). Sarrimo found that in Sweden too, where it had not been uncommon for arts practitioners to freelance as specialist arts and culture writers for newspapers (2016: 1), the media have felt the "increasing influence of generalist, economically-driven journalism (2016: 7).

Highlighting the lack of research being done in the field of arts reporting and why it warrants research, Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007: 622) and Forde (2001: 113) argue that arts journalism is quantitatively different from news journalism and that arts journalists have the responsibility of communicating the transformative nature of the arts (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007: 619). Hellman and Jaakkola agree, noting that "arts journalists have seldom made their way into academic research" (2012: 784), as does Strachan (2011) – who, in her study on the impact of public relations on journalism, emphasises how little scholarly research into arts journalism has been done – and Forde, who writes that despite music journalists playing the role of "cultural intermediaries", too little research has been done in the field of music and arts journalism (Forde, 2001: 113).

In their investigations into the "crisis of cultural journalism", Hellman and Jaakkola (2012: 783), whose study focuses on arts reporting in Finland's biggest national newspaper, found that arts pages have shrunk significantly and become dominated by news and entertainment. They note that American and German newspapers are running fewer arts and culture articles than they used to, while in the USA, France, Netherlands, Denmark and Norway, the arts pages are dominated by reporting on popular music (Hellman & Jaakola, 2012: 784).

In recent decades, writes Jaakkola (2015: 537), concerns have been raised about the "quantity and quality of cultural journalism and the shortage of academic attention paid to it". In her research, which looked specifically at how the "crisis" in arts and cultural journalism is framed, Jaakkola (2015: 545-548) notes that discussions centred largely on the elitisation, popularisation, commercialisation and journalistification of arts reporting as well as professional apathy among those reporting on the arts. Elitisation, she explains, refers to critics and cultural journalists being positioned as "arbiters of good taste", and collides with the public service of journalism (2015: 546). In contrast to elitisation, but also contributing to the crisis in cultural journalism, is the popularisation of the genre, resulting from the broadening of the concept of culture within cultural journalism and replacing the "consecration of artworks by gatekeepers" with a populist concept of quality (2015: 546). The commercialism of arts and culture reporting, Jaakkola notes, is seen as the amplification of consumerism that results in the reduction of criticism to a form of marketing, with cultural journalism taking up the role of

collaborator with the entertainment industry. The journlastification of cultural reporting, which was also raised as a concern by Sarrimo (2016), refers to a "matter-of-fact" representation of cultural journalism which is illustrated by the "increased use of photos, simpler language and shorter articles" (Jaakkola, 2015: 548). When arts and culture reporting is treated like news reporting, Jaakkola notes, the "emphasis on journalistic ideology diverts the writer's attention from reflections and contextualising, to attracting more readers and cutting costs". The last of the themes used to frame the narrative about the crisis in cultural journalism, as identified by Jaakkola's research, is professional apathy which results from cultural journalists' avoidance of developing and updating their own practices (2015: 548). Because these are very pertinent issues, not unique only to Finland where Jaakkola undertook her research, I aim to use these themes to guide my analysis of the arts reporting in the community newspapers included in my research sample.

In addition to the decrease in the amount of space allocated to arts reporting, there is also a lack of critical engagement with the arts (Hellman & Jaakkola, 2012: 784) and an increase in the amount of public relations copy finding its way onto the arts and entertainment pages.

In Strachan's study (2011: 127), which aimed to explore the level of "public relations activity" in a week's sample of arts journalism in two Australian daily newspapers, she found that up to 97% of content on the arts pages resulted from PR. She believes this high level of public relations activity points to an "embedded collaboration between arts PR and arts journalism".

Evidence shows that the use of PR material is rife in all kinds of journalism (Strachan, 2011: 128) and MacNamara (2009: 8), notes that up to 80% of all media content is sourced from or significantly influenced by public relations content. Strachan believes that public relations, as a practice compromises the concept of journalism as an "independent, impartial activity" by providing information in the interest of paying clients (2011: 128), but Zawawi (1994: 71) argues that rather than giving us reason to question the ethics and credibility, PR gives us the opportunity to change the way we think about how journalists do their jobs.

Strachan's research also shows that many arts pages are "now mostly taken up with snippets of news and other art-bites, quick Q&A profiles … and articles under 100 or 50 words" and that a striking feature of this type of arts journalism is its similarity to arts publicity with its key message being "this is what's on, this is where, this is how much" (2011: 129).

Added to this, the *Hisses and Whistles* study reported that there was a "historical tendency in the media to favour the international arts over local arts" and that some of those

interviewed for the study had emphasised the importance of this international focus because "ideas were international" (MMP, 2006: 51). Furthermore, the MMP noted, perceptions about what audiences were interested in, often resulted in the media reporting on entertainment and celebrity gossip rather than local arts initiatives. Among the results of the MMP's research (2006: 52) was that of the five artists who received the most coverage, only one was local.

In Sweden, where arts and culture reporting is considered to be the "newspaper's soul", writes Sarrimo (2016: 12), they have also seen the impact of PR on arts journalism, and as the number communication officers and PR people increase, so the number of professional reviewers decreases. She notes that many Swedish media are no longer using specialists and that arts journalism is becoming more "newsy", shorter and "faster", and argues that the values of arts journalism should relate to "pride, consciousness and purposes other than selling a commodity".

Because I have experienced the impact of public relations on determining which arts and entertainment news is published, I have posed questions about this to both editors and arts promoters. Their responses will be further explored in Chapter 4 of this study.

As print media feels the severe impact of online technologies and the resultant decrease in advertising revenue, Green (2010: 2) notes that as media companies face increasing financial difficulties, "no coverage sector has been as hard hit as arts journalism".

And while many web-based, not-for-profit journalism organisations are filling the voids left as specialist reporting is cut, "the most significant niche to remain unaddressed ... is art journalism" (Green, 2010: 2).

While in the 2013 and 2014 instalments of the South African Arts Journalism Awards print proved still to be a "popular publication platform", which was "more or less equalled by online" (Botma, 2015: 8), entries to the 2015 competition seem to have cemented the role of online platforms in the local arts reporting industry. That year at least five websites and blogs were awarded at the 2015 South African Arts Journalism Awards, among them *The Con, Africa is a Country* and *Books Live*, with head judge Gwen Ansell noting that "...we're increasingly seeing relevant issues being raised by distinctive individual voices on blogs and websites" (Books Live, 2015). Botma also noted that "specialist, independent, niche and community media platforms ... seem to be gaining ground (2015: 8).

In Green's assessment of the negative impact cutbacks have had on the American media in recent times, he notes that in 2010, only two or three American newspapers had more than one full-time arts journalist, in contrast to five to seven years previously, when 25 American newspapers had multiple arts writers (Green, 2010: 2). He also believes coverage of artists and

their work to be "at a 40-year low" and that cultural journalism is "rapidly disappearing from traditional commercial media (Green, 2010: 3). Quoting an interview with Glenn Lowry, then director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, he points out that while there has been a loss of well-informed arts journalism, research shows that in the USA there has been a "dramatic growth in the public's interest in the arts" (Green, 2010: 3).

Reporting the Arts II: News coverage of arts and culture in America was undertaken Columbia University's National Arts Journalism Program in 2004 as a follow-up to the first study which had been done by the university in 1999. While the study may be somewhat dated, it did reveal some trends which are currently being experienced in the arts reporting sector. The aim of the first study was to assess how the arts were covered in American newspapers and to create a baseline for future examinations of trends relating to coverage of the arts in America. The second study went back to the original 10 communities which had been surveyed and also included national media, TV, alternative press, online media and reporting by minorities in the ethnic press (Levy, 2004: 10). "The trends are not encouraging," notes Levy. "None of the tracked newspapers increased space given to arts journalism. Most are running a few articles about arts and culture." (2004: 10). He also noted that many newspapers "almost everywhere" were devoting more space on the arts pages to listings, articles were significantly shorter than they had been when the first study was done, and that the increase in newsworthy arts and culture activity contrasted with the decrease in arts reporting had resulted in a tension between the media and arts practitioners (Levy, 2004: 10-11). This tension has led to many arts organisations opting to find new ways of getting coverage for their work and circumventing mainstream media (Levy, 2004: 11). Noting the potential of arts coverage to increase readership, Levy says:

> Arts pages attract lots of advertising and have potential to be a magnet for readers from relatively untapped segments of the public... Despite the downward trend in readership, it is undeniable that over the long term, newspapers must rely on arts and entertainment coverage in order to grow and retain their readership. (Levy, 2004: 12).

Arts reporting, however, does not only have benefits for the bottom line, but also for those creating the art as well as those who have an interest in the sector. Of the value of arts and cultural reporting, Tony Lankaster, the CEO of South Africa's National Arts Festival, noted that "[arts] journalists help us contextualise, understand and reflect on and make sense of

the work of our artists and our industry as a whole. We need strong journalism to be recognised as something that underpins and gives meaning to what we do" (Books Live, 2015). Added to this, Newton writes:

> It is difficult to imagine how a community can fully feel the benefits of the arts in the absence of a quality flow of news and information telling who is doing what, showing what's available, explaining what people are saying, providing critical reviews and feature stories on artists and their arts, and demonstrating how arts serves as a community catalyst and betters our lives. (Newton, 2012)

What the above illustrates is that community newspapers are important, as are the arts and reporting thereon. What most scholars agree on, however, is that not enough academic research has been done on arts reporting, and even less – if any – specifically on arts reporting in community newspapers. Through my focus on a sample of community newspapers published in Cape Town – among them papers owned by two big news companies and two which are independently owned – I hope to shed some light on how local papers are covering the arts and entertainment sector, the challenges they face and what is being done to overcome these challenges.

2.3 Summary

This chapter started with an outline of the theoretical framework of normative functionalism which can be used to study the media and its relationships with society and individuals. While functionalist theory describes the roles the media play in society, normative theory focuses on what they ought to be doing in society – rather than what they actually are doing. By combining the two theories, this study is able to investigate not only whether the media are fulfilling their role in society, but also to what measure they are meeting the normative expectations of the media.

Of the specific normative theories, this research undertaking uses social responsibility theory which emphasises the right to freedom of publication coupled with the media's obligation to society. Part of this obligation is to adhere to journalistic standards, which many scholars believe is undermined by, among others, the increasing use of PR copy, particularly on entertainment pages of newspapers. In his writing about the impact of PR on news, Rühl (2008) describes journalism, PR and advertising as persuasive systems, with journalism set apart only by its ability to set the news agenda and provide themes for public communication. The use of

PR content and its resultant ability to, through the media, determine which communication themes are promoted, are therefore called into question.

The literature review section of this chapter went on to define key terms such as community, community newspapers, the arts and arts reporting, coupled with discussions about why it is important to study community newspapers and arts reporting.

This was followed by a discussion on the newsroom challenges which are affecting arts reporting in South Africa – and across the world – among them being staff shortages and a lack of specialisation. This, as well as the impact of PR on arts and entertainment reporting locally, are discussed in further detail in the findings in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3 - Research design and methodology

3.1. Mixed methodology: combining quantitative and qualitative research

In this study of the state of arts reporting in community newspapers published in Cape Town, I chose a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to answer various research questions (see Chapter 1 and the discussion below). Quantitative research methods allowed me to address the following aspects of the research questions: ascertain how the coverage of arts and entertainment in the different newspapers compare to each other, find how many were attributed to reporters and how many appeared without a byline, as well as how many of these arts and entertainment items focused on the different artistic disciplines. As was discussed in Chapter 1, the disciplines focused on were music, dance, theatre, comedy, books/literature, visual art, and other (which would include multidisciplinary events, festivals or entertainment events not related to the aforementioned disciplines). This selection reflects, largely the disciplines covered by the *Hisses and Whistles* study which looked at six key arts genres: music, film, literature, theatre, visual arts and dance (MMP, 2006: 12). Because the research sample for this study included a large number of items related to comedy, this discipline was included. Film, on the other hand, did not feature prominently, so it was included in an "other" category which also incorporated multidisciplinary events and festivals.

Qualitative research methods enabled the analysis of the content and tone of the articles in the research sample, and also the information gathered through interviews with editors, reporters, communications practitioners and two former judges of a national arts journalism competition about the allocation of resources to arts reporting, challenges facing reporters who write about the arts, how content for the entertainment pages was selected and their thoughts on what defined good or bad arts reporting.

This study focused primarily on media content and the processes which determined what was used – and how it was used – and thereby contributed to the state of arts reporting in this sector of the industry. It did not focus on how this reporting was received by audiences and therefore did not go into reception or effects studies.

The discussion begins with the distinctions scholars have made between quantitative research and qualitative research, followed by a review of the work published by proponents of a mixed methodology approach, that is, combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies when undertaking communication and media research.

In an effort to define the quantitative approach to research, Du Plooy (2009: 22) explains that it restricts itself to "data of experiences", rejecting any form of speculation. A qualitative approach to research, on the other hand, aims to interpret and construct the

"qualitative aspects of communication experiences" (Du Plooy, 2009: 30). Babbie (2013: 24), however, believes that the differences are far simpler, writing that "the distinction between quantitative and qualitative data in social research is essentially the distinction between numerical and non-numerical data".

In this study, the numerical data collected relates to the number of art and entertainment items contained in each newspapers in the research sample, the number of articles relates to each of the disciplines outlined above, as well as the number of different kinds of news items. For the purposes of this study, and in reference to the literature review in Chapter 2, the categories of classification identified were single-paragraph "what's on" notices, pictures with extended captions, personality profiles, stories about upcoming events, snippets (a short entertainment story, which contains more information than a what's on notice), book reviews, competitions and show reviews or report on past event.

Babbie (2013: 25) also notes that while a quantitative approach allows for statistical analysis, and offers the "advantages numbers have over words as measures of some quality", it does include a "potential loss in richness of meaning" which can be derived through qualitative research.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 1), quantitative research was seriously impacted by the "paradigm wars" of the 1980s, which lasted until the 1990s, when proponents of constructivism, post-positivism and critical theory started talking to each other, addressing issues of ethics, field studies and knowledge accumulation. It was around this time that there was an "explosion of published work" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 2) on qualitative research, which they define as being "situated activity that locates the observer in the world [and] consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that make the world visible" (2011: 3). Often researchers in this field are considered to be journalists and their work regarded as unscientific, largely because of the interpretative traditions associated with qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 2). As a working definition of qualitative research, Jankowski and Wester (2002: 44) offer the following:

> [It] is a form of long-term first hand observation conducted in close proximity to the phenomena under study. The research is, ideally, performed in a naturalistic setting with emphasis on everyday behaviour and is often descriptive in nature.

In the case of this research, I observed first-hand, the arts and entertainment content of a sample of community newspapers distributed in the city in which I am based. The everyday

behaviour I studied – by asking particularly focused questions - included the newsroom practices which informed what was reported on, and how these arts and entertainment stories were reported on.

Arguing against the "quantitative logic" – that quantitative content analysis should be used to determine what is disseminated as news content – Tuchman (2002: 80) promotes taking a qualitative approach, emphasising that "what matters more is the context". While data collection in qualitative research can be done through in-depth interviewing, document analysis and unstructured observation, many qualitative studies rely only on a single method of data collection – either interviews or analysis of documents (Jankowski & Wester, 2002: 59). For the purposes of this study, my qualitative research methods will include interviewing and document analysis, with the documents being the published arts and entertainment articles.

When it comes to writing up the findings of qualitative research, these reports can take one of three forms, including descriptive reports which make little or no reference to theoretical perspectives; analytical discussions which are based on the concepts emerging from the study; and substantive accounts which are intended to contribute to general theory (Jankowski & Wester, 2002: 69). While I will be working within the theoretical framework of normative functionalism, my research findings will be largely descriptive, but will include a discussion of the context which has contributed to how the arts and entertainment news are reported on.

Du Plooy (2009: 16-19) writes that while distinctions are made between qualitative and quantitative approaches to communication research, in practice, methods from both approaches are often used, and she recommends that when embarking on communication research, one ought to consider a mixture of approaches. Du Plooy (2009: 34) argues that if one considers communication to be a process during which meaning is shared, a quantitative approach alone is not able to research the "symbol systems" involved in communication.

Also in favour of using a mixed methodology are Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005: 383) who write that the "inclusion of quantitative data can help compensate for the fact that qualitative data typically cannot be generalised" and that combing the two techniques enables researchers to be more flexible in their investigative techniques. Furthermore, they note, neither quantitative not qualitative research is independent of the other, and neither is able to encompass the whole research process and so it is essential to use both approaches if one is to gain a more complete understanding of the phenomena being studied (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005: 380). Advocating for more of a focus to be placed on the similarities between quantitative and qualitative research, rather than the differences between the two, they note that while quantitative researchers use statistical techniques and subjective inferences to interpret

data, and qualitative researchers use phenomenological procedures and their views of reality to discover meaning, they both have the same goal: to uncover meaning and provide explanations for their findings (2005: 379).

The differences and similarities between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research and arguments against or in favour of a mixed methodology approach, can, largely, also be applied to quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis which have been employed in this study. In media studies quantitative content analysis collects data about media content but scholars are divided as to whether media content analysis is ideally quantitative only, or if both quantitative and qualitative approaches should be used when analysing media texts (McNamara, 2005: 4). Differentiating between the two approaches, Hancock and Algozinne (2006: 8) write that, in the case of quantitative research, the researcher prefers to remain "blind" in order to maintain objectivity while the goal of qualitative research is to understand the matter being investigated, from the participants' perspective, with the researcher spending a lot of time in the environment of those (things) being studied. In favour of using a combination of the two methods, MacNamara argues that it is "too simplistic" to base findings and decisions on statistical content analysis and that:

> The ideal approach is a combination of the two because the ultimate goal of analysing media content is the desire to understand deeper meaning of media content and their possible interpretations. (2005: 4-5)

While her work in the field of news media research promotes the use of a qualitative approach to communication studies, Tuchman puts the emphasis on matching the questions being investigated with the methods used, rather than focusing on choosing a particular research paradigm. She writes:

> The old rule remains valid: the method one should choose when approaching any topic, including news, depends upon the question one wants to answer. (2002: 79).

Therefore, because my research questions, outlined in the section below, address questions which can be answered through quantitative research as well as questions which will be better answered through qualitative inquiry, I've decided to employ a mixed methodology approach to this study.

3.2 Research design: Case Study

Because case studies are best suited to research projects which seek to answer "how?" and "why?" questions (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 545), this design was chosen for this study into how the arts were reported on in a sample of community newspapers published in Cape Town and why they were reported on in a particular way. Yin adds that:

> All case study research starts from the same compelling feature: the desire to derive a(n) (up-)close or otherwise in-depth understanding of a single or small number of "cases" set in their real-world contexts. (2012: 4)

Rose, Spinks and Canhoto (2015: 130) emphasise that while case studies are most commonly associated with qualitative research and qualitative data, "this need not be so and quantitative data can readily be incorporated into a case study where appropriate". The choice of case study design, therefore works well with the use of a qualitative as well as quantitative research methods to gather the information required for this research project.

Yin (2012: 4-5) notes at least three situations which create relevant opportunities for applying the case study design when conducting research: when research addresses a descriptive question or an explanatory question; when data is collected in a natural or real-world setting and when one is conducting an evaluation. While some scholars view case studies as a preliminary, exploratory form of research to prepare for another kind of research, Yin (2012: 5) argues that this view is outdated and that case study research "goes well beyond exploratory functions". In the case of this investigation into the state of arts and entertainment reporting in community newspapers published in Cape Town, the research describes and evaluates – against the normative expectations of the media – how the arts and entertainment are being covered in these papers.

Baxter and Jack (2008: 545) note that case studies allow for close collaboration between researcher and participants who are allowed to tell their stories and through doing so, describe their views on reality, giving the researcher a better understanding of the participants' action. In this study, understanding, for example, the context of the newsroom, will give a deeper understanding into how arts pages are put together.

The goal of a case study – a design that emphasises the participant's perspective as central to the process (Zucker, 2009: 14) – is to tell the story and its findings, clearly separated from conclusions and interpretations (Zucker, 2009: 12). Baxter and Jack draw comparisons between single and multiple case study designs. They note that, in the case of single case study

designs, holistic case studies refer to a group of subjects in a common environment or unique situation (2008: 549), while single case studies with embedded units study sub-units within the greater unit (2008: 550). Multiple case studies, on the other hand, contain more than one single case, often requiring multiple experiments. The difference between multiple case study design and single case with embedded units design, they explain, is that in the case of multiple case studies, the contexts are different (2008: 550). A combination of holistic and descriptive case study design best describes this study, with the "group of subjects" being the community newspapers being assessed, the "common environment" being Cape Town and phenomenon being described, being the way arts are reported on in community newspapers distributed in Cape Town.

Once the researcher has decided which case study will be used, five key components must be in place before the research is undertaken: research proposition(s); units of analysis; research questions; a determination of how the data are linked to the propositions; and criteria to interpret the findings of the research (Zucker, 2009: 3). Research done has lead me to the proposition that in spite of their importance in post-apartheid South Africa, both arts reporting and the community newspapers sector remain under-researched and that there is no published academic work which focuses on a combination of the two. Units of analysis include the community newspapers in my sample as well as all news content focused on arts and entertainment.

Baxter and Jack (2008: 555-556) add that the foundations for achieving valid, credible results from case study research are that research questions must be properly formulated; the case study design must be appropriate for the research question(s); the researcher must apply purposeful sampling strategies appropriate for the chosen cases study design; and collected data must be managed systematically and analysed correctly.

> My research questions have been formulated as such: 1) How do Cape Town's community newspapers compare in terms of their coverage of the arts? 2) What resources have been allocated to Cape Town's community newspapers for arts coverage and the development thereof? 3) What kinds of arts reporting is included in Cape Town's community newspapers? 4) What are the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for community newspapers in Cape Town? 5) What role does the coverage of the arts in Cape Town's community newspapers play in the development and/or promotion of local arts and entertainment industries?

To answer question 1, I will count the number of arts- and entertainment related items were published during the monitoring period in the respective newspapers, establish which

disciplines were represented, how many local versus national and international stories were in the sample, the average number of arts and entertainment items per edition and how many of these items are attributed to a reporter. To answer questions 2, 4 and 5, I will conduct in-depth interviews with the editors of the selected newspapers as well as PR professionals and those involved in promoting the arts, reporters who write about the arts and former judges of a national arts journalism competition. Question 3 will be addressed through interviews as well as qualitative and quantitative content analysis.

3.3 Data gathering

3.3.1 Sampling

Due to logistical issues, among them the large number of community newspapers, both independently- and corporate-owned, which are published in South Africa, and the fact that many of them are published in languages I am not proficient in, it was not feasible to attempt to assess the arts reporting in all of South Africa's community newspapers. I therefore purposively narrowed my focus to include a sample of the newspapers published in English and Afrikaans in Cape Town. Within this sample, I purposively included three titles owned by each of the media corporations which publish community newspapers in Cape Town – Media 24 and Independent Media – as well as three independently published community newspapers. All of the newspapers in my sample are distributed free of charge.

My research focused on editions of these papers published in September 2015, a date decided on through random selection of slips of paper listing the months, May 2015 through to May 2016. Monitoring the weekly publications for a period of a month enabled me to assess at least four editions of each title. By comparison, the *Hisses and Whistles* study (MMP, 2006), which was a national study that inspired this project, conducted research on a much broader scale, assessed media over a two-month period. Because three of the publications in my research sample were monthly titles, I also included in my sample the August 2015 editions of these papers. A total of 32 editions were assessed for this study. The following details about each of the titles in my research sample was drawn from information published in the individual newspapers, except where otherwise indicated.

Cape Flats News

Cape Flats News is an independently produced and distributed monthly publication, 10 000 copies of which are distributed to a number of Cape Town's Cape Flats communities, with a focus on the greater Athlone area (www.aip.org.za/member/cape-

flats-news). The paper, which is affiliated to the Association of Independent Publishers (AIP), is dual medium, with stories written in English and Afrikaans. The August and September 2015 editions of the publication are included in my research sample.

Muslim Views

Muslim Views, which stands out among the other papers in my research sample because it is targeted at a religious community rather than a geographical community, is independently owned, with 25 000 copies distributed to mosques and related organisations once a month. Of the total number printed every month, 5 000 are distributed in Gauteng, 5 000 to Durban, Pietermaritzburg and other metropolitan areas in KZN, with the remaining 15 000 being distributed in Cape Town. All stories are written in English. The August and September 2015 editions are included in my research sample.

Impact News

Impact News is an independently owned and distributed publication with a focus on Atlantis and a number of other West Coast and farming communities on the outskirts of Cape Town. A total of 17 000 copies are printed and distributed every month, and while the publication is marketed as running stories in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, most are written in English and Afrikaans. The paper is affiliated to the AIP and editions included in my research sample are those of August and September 2015.

City Vision Khayelitsha Mfuleni

City Vision is one of three community newspapers published by WP Newspapers and owned by Media24 included in my research sample. The paper, which carries stories written in English, distributes 55 287 copies every Thursday to township areas around Khayelitsha and Mfuleni. The editions published on September 3, 10, 17 and 24, 2015 have been included in my research sample.

Tygerburger Durbanville

Tygerburger Durbanville, is the second of three papers owned by Media24 included in this research sample. It is one of 12 *Tygerburger* titles published weekly by WP Newspapers, with 19 546 copies of the Durbanville edition being distributed every Wednesday. It is a dual medium publication, with stories written in English and

Afrikaans. Editions included in my research sample include those published on September 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 in 2015.

People's Post Claremont/Rondebosch

This paper is the third of the Media24-owned titles in my research sample. As is the case with *City Vision* and *Tygerburger*, it is published by WP Newspapers and distributed weekly. Every Tuesday 30 834 copies are distributed to parts of the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Stories are written in English and editions included in my sample are those published on September 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 2015.

Vukani

Vukani , published by Cape Community Newspapers (CCN) and owned by Independent Media, distributes 81 000 copies every Thursday, to a number of township areas in Cape Town, among them Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Langa, Gugulethu and Mfuleni. Stories are written in English. The September 3, 10, 17 and 24, 2015 editions are included in my research sample.

Northern News Bellville/Durbanville

Northern News Bellville/Durbanville is the second of three community newspapers in my sample which are published by CCN and owned by Independent Media. The paper is one of three Northern News titles which CCN distributes to Cape Town's northern suburbs. A total of 37 740 copies of the Bellville/Durbanville edition are distributed every Thursday. The editions of September 3, 10, 17 and 24, 2015 are in my sample.

Southern Suburbs Tatler

Southern Suburbs Tatler is the last of the three community newspapers in my sample which are published by CCN and owned by Independent Media. Every Thursday 48 660 copies of the *Tatler* are distributed to Cape Town's southern suburbs. All stories are written in English. The editions included in my sample are the four published during September 2015 – on September 3, 10, 17 and 24.

All arts and entertainment-related content, which included, but was not limited to reviews, interviews and calendar items, whether on news pages or in a clearly identifiable entertainment section of the newspaper, was analysed.

3.3.2 Quantitative and qualitative content analysis

Early definitions of content analysis described this research technique as the tabulation of "the occurrences of units"; the characterisation of meaning in a "systematic and quantitative fashion"; the "statistical semantics of political discourse", with the roots of this technique having been in quantitative techniques (Franzosi, 2008: xxi). Quantification, notes Franzosi, goes "hand-in-hand with systemisation, rigor, precision …objectivity … [and] a scientific approach to social science (2008: xxii-xxiii). In this study, the aim of the quantitative content analysis component was to determine how many of each different kind of item (that is story, review or preview) were included in the research sample, as well as how many articles focused on each of the different artistic disciplines and how many of the articles focused on local artists as opposed to them being about national or international artists or entertainers.

While there are many different definitions of content analysis, which Neuendorf (2002: 10) believes is one of the fastest growing research techniques, it is Wigston's contention that the concept remains the same: it is a method that focuses on the message "which is reduced to a set of categories representative of the research problem" (1997: 152) and allows the researcher to make inferences about the communicator's intention and the recipient's interpretation (Wigston, 1997: 154). Outlining some of the advantages of content analysis, Wigston notes that it is sensitive to context; combines well with other methods and techniques; it can cope with large volumes of data; and it unobtrusive and non-reactive. Explaining the last point, he notes that often people alter their behaviour or responses when they know they are being observed, which can lead to the researcher obtaining false results (1997: 165-166).

The quantitative content analysis component of this study therefore enabled a sober assessment of the coverage of arts and entertainment in the research sample, without the influence of qualitative data which would later be collected through interviews and qualitatively looking at the content of the arts and entertainment items. The data collected quantitatively focused on "how many", calculating, for example, the number of entertainment items, the number of different kinds of reporting, the number of reports dedicated to the different artistic disciplines, and how many critically engaged with the subject rather than reporting on what's happening. In this way I was able to collect data which could be compared with the comments and input drawn from interviews with editors, reporters and communication practitioners, allowing me to compare these professionals' perceptions of what they do and how they do it, and what the quantitative data reflects.

There are limitations to content analysis, however, among them that it is limited to examining messages which are recorded in retrievable format; it is not easy to use it to reliably

analyse latent messages and it cannot tell us how an audience reacts to the message (Wigston, 1997: 166). Added to this, Michaelson and Griffin note that while current methods of content analysis are diverse, all are flawed in that they are not able to determine the accuracy of the message and that message analysis is not linked to communication objectives (2005: 6). Therefore, for content analysis to be useful, it must be applied in relation to the communication goals and objectives that the content analysis is tracking (Michaelson & Griffin, 2005: 12).

The aim of quantitative content analysis is to provide an account of what a media text contains (Gunter, 2012: 220). This kind of media content analysis is a specialised sub-set of content analysis, with MacNamara noting that scholars have referred to it as "the primary message-centred ideology" (2005: 1). It was communication theorist Harold Lasswell who introduced media content analysis as a method for studying mass media when he wanted to investigate propaganda, but it also became increasingly popular during the 1920s and 30s as a way to study the communication content of movies (MacNamara, 2005: 1). The arrival of television in the 1950s saw interest in media content analysis as a research methodology in social sciences and communication studies growing, with it becoming the primary research method for studying portrayals of violence, racism and women in TV and films. This is supported by Gunter who points out that in the 1940s, wartime intelligence used quantitative content analysis to monitor broadcasts for music and news content (2012: 219).

Gunter notes that quantitative studies of media content largely involving the surveying of media output. When using this approach, measurement is conducted by numbers and so data processing, analysis and interpretation must be carefully attended to as they are crucial to how effective the study will ultimately be (Gunter, 2012: 210). However, Deacon warns that when working with numbers, frequency should not be seen as being a definitive measure of significance (2008: 92).

While MacNamara (2005: 2), citing Berelson, defines quantitative content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication", the use of the word "objective" has been challenged because researchers believe not even the most scientific methods in social research can produce totally objective results (MacNamara , 2005: 2).

Quantitative content analysis, however, notes Deacon, has been criticised for ignoring the complexities of textual meaning and failing to engage with "people's complex or interior lives or their situated cultural and social experiences" (2008: 92). A qualitative approach, on the other hand, can contribute to a "sustained, critical development of reflections and conversations about media that are widespread in everyday life" (Green, 2002: 216).

The qualitative content analysis component of this study involved examining the tone of the articles in the sample as well as the disciplines contained within each story to ascertain what kind of entertainment stories were being published. Here distinctions were made between arts and entertainment items which were critical or informational, whether the language was simple or cluttered with jargon, how many – and whose – voices were represented in the stories, and the differences between articles attributed to reporters and those which appeared under no byline, or with a generic byline such as "staff writer". Examining whose voices were represented on the entertainment pages helped to answer my research question relating to the role arts reporting can play in promoting local artists and artistic endeavours, while comparing the number of articles published under a reporter's byline with those which are not, gave some insight into the resources available to community newspapers' arts reporting function and how heavily PR copy was being relied on to populate arts and entertainment pages.

Comparing the results of content analysis along with input from editors, PR practitioners and arts promoters provided valuable insight into where the overlaps were in terms of what editors thought of their arts coverage, what promoters felt about their interactions with community media, and the interpretative results of qualitative content analysis.

3.3.3 Interviews

While participant observation, one of the primary methods of qualitative studies (Jankowski & Wester, 2002: 44), would have been a particularly effective way to obtain information about newsroom practices that impact how arts and entertainment were reported on, it would have been too time-consuming given my current work and personal commitments and furthermore required permission to spend time in the newsrooms of some of the direct competitors of the newspapers I edit.

I therefore conducted in-depth interviews with the editors of the papers in my research sample as well as with journalists who report on the arts, to gain better insight into these practices. I also interviewed arts promoters and public relations practitioners to better understand their interactions with those who report on – or aggregate stories for – the entertainment pages of the community newspapers being assessed.

According to Hancock (2006: 39), interviews are a very common form of data collection in case study research because they allow the researcher to attain "rich, personalised information", but, he points out, the first step is to identify key participants whose knowledge and opinions may provide important information and insights relating to the topic which is being studied. Interviews provide in-depth information about the subject's experience and

opinions of a particular topic (Turner, 2010: 754; Du Plooy, 1997: 112) and it is for this reason that as part of my assessment of the resources allocated to arts reporting, the challenges faced by those reporting on the arts, and the perceived role of arts reporting in the promotion and development of local arts and entertainment industries, I chose to interview editors, journalists who write about the arts and PR practitioners. In total, 25 interviews were conducted – six editors were interviewed, 11 communications practitioners and arts promoters, six reporters who write about the arts and two former judges of the South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards. The editors and reporters interviewed all work for the publications in my research sample.

The purpose of conducting an interview is to gain a deeper insight into the respondents' personal experiences and not necessarily to obtain "objective facts about reality" (Meho, 2006: 1284). Citing previous research, Pitout (1997: 112) writes that interviewing as a field research technique can be thought of as a "conversation with a purpose" and that interviews can give us background or context relating to why participants respond in a particular way. Often interviews are used in addition to other forms of data collection to ensure a well-rounded collection of information is available for the researcher to analyse (Turner, 2010: 754). In the case of this study, I coupled interviewing with qualitative and quantitative techniques of content analysis.

By conducting in-depth interviews with newsroom staff, I was able to gain deeper insight into their views on working conditions in newsrooms of community newspapers in the city, how, in particular, they approached arts reporting, and what resources they had available to pursue such reporting. In an attempt to gauge the level of influence promotions, public relations and marketing had on news content, I also interviewed arts promoters and public relations practitioners who have artists, arts institutions or entertainment companies as clients. Of particular interest to me, was their perception of the role they played in populating arts and entertainment pages, what their relationship was with local media and whether they felt they were actively involved in setting the news agenda.

A more recent development in the field of arts reporting has been the establishment of the South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards, which are organised by the National Arts Festival and Business and Arts South Africa (BASA) and were established in 2013. Entries span the categories of news, feature and review work, published in either written, visual, multimedia or audio formats (The Famous Idea, 2015). Emphasising the aim of the awards, National Arts Festival CEO, Tony Lankester noted in a press release sent to the media:

> We're looking for journalists who help spark and shape conversations around the arts; whose passion for the arts is palpable in their work; and whose journalism is deeply rooted in the ethics of their profession. We're not looking for praise singers. We're looking for those journalists who offer insightful, well-researched and mature commentary on the industry, and who keep our artists, their work and the cultural industries in the spotlight in our country's media. (The Famous Idea, 2015).

In 2015 a special emphasis was placed on digital media, with categories being revised to put online journalists on an equal playing field with those working in traditional media – and also to attract more entries from writers who are young in their careers. (The Famous Idea, 2015). While there are numerous awards for journalism excellence, among them the Vodacom Journalist of the Year Award, the Standard Bank Sikuvile Journalism Awards, and the Local Media Excellence Awards, none have arts journalism categories and the South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards is the only competition focused on the coverage of the arts in South African media. Because of the significance of these awards, I also interviewed Christopher Thurman and Gwen Ansell, who have previously served as convenor of judges for this competition.

In Turner's research paper on qualitative interview design, he highlights three categories of qualitative interview design: the informal conversational interview, the general interview and the standardised, open-ended interview (2010: 754-756). What follows is a summary of Turner's comments and recommendations on these interview designs, which, he notes, are based on his own experience as well as a review of the available literature on the topic (2010: 754).

- Informal interviews rely on spontaneous generation of interview questions, typically as part of an ongoing participant observation. Turner notes that questions come from "in the moment experiences" and the interviewer relies on interaction with participants (2010: 755). While this is a very flexible technique, it can be unreliable and often results in inconsistency in interview questions, which makes it difficult to code data.
- While the general interview guide approach is more structured, it is flexible and the strength of this kind of interview is that one is able to cover the same general areas with all participants. However, the way the interview poses the questions can

impact on how the participant answers, and so there may be some inconsistency in the method – and the responses (Turner, 2010: 755).

- Standardised, open-ended questions are designed to be "extremely structured", with participants always asked the same questions which are always open-ended. However, because the questions are open-ended, the interview may have unmanageable amounts of data to sort through, making it difficult to reflect an overall perspective (Turner, 2010: 756)

To overcome the logistical problems involved in interviewing research participants who had very busy schedules, I conducted many of my interviews via email, the benefits and challenges of which Meho interrogates in a paper on email interviewing as a qualitative research technique. Meho (2006: 1284) notes that email interviews are particularly useful when one has limited time and access to participants who may be far away from where you are. Research trends show that email has become a viable tool for qualitative research and further studies have gone on to compare data gathered from face-to-face and email interviews and how to increase the effectiveness of email interviews (Meho, 2006: 1285). Bornman (2009: 427) notes that email questionnaires and allow the researcher to gather information from the respondents about their own behaviour and that responses reflect the respondents' "subjective understanding of a particular topic".

Among the benefits of conducting interviews via email are that they cost less to administer and they allow you to reach large, geographically dispersed participants. However, it can take a long time to collect responses (Meho, 2006: 1285; Bornman, 2009: 452) and email interviewing limits one's reach to participants who have access to the internet and because of information overload on the internet, many people may delete an email relating to research, without even reading it (Meho, 2006: 1288).

Meho (2006: 1289), Du Plooy (1997: 114) and Bornman (2009: 449) all point out that another benefit of email interviewing is that this method facilitates greater disclosure and results in respondents being more likely to provide accurate responses to sensitive questions. Furthermore, notes Denscombe (2003: 51), the quality of responses collected via online research is the same as that of data collected through traditional means and Levinson (1990) believes that electronic communications' ability to provide "opportunity for reflection and editing of messages before sending them, contributes to the production of a closer fit between ideas, intention and their expression in writing".

On a technical note, Meho's research has shown that questions embedded in the body of the email have a five times higher response rate than those sent as an attached document (2006: 1290) – and that many email interviewing studies list high rates of non-delivery as a major challenge (2006: 1288). Bornman, however, adds to this that responses may be higher among well-educated populations who have a strong interest in the focus of the study (2009: 449).

I found poor response rates to be a challenge during my study, and in an attempt to avoid non-delivery of responses, I tried to build rapport with my respondents, by first emailing them to introduce myself and my research before sending them the questionnaire, and then following up if responses were not received by the deadline, and committing to share my findings after my research has been completed. While I had anticipated that editors of titles which are in competition with the community newspapers I edit, might be reluctant to be interviewed about the inner workings of their newsrooms, I found them to be willing to be of assistance and fairly open and frank in their responses.

On the issue of non-response or poor response rates, Meho (2006: 1288) points out that having a representative sample is not a goal in qualitative research, and that if people don't respond, you can ask others to take part – which is what I was forced to do in some instances.

3.4 Data Analysis

Research question 1: How do Cape Town's community newspapers compare in terms of their coverage of the arts?

This question was primarily addressed through quantitative and qualitative content analyses. I counted the number of pages clearly identified as arts and/or entertainment pages in the respective newspapers, how many arts/entertainment items appeared on these pages, and how many arts/entertainment items appeared on pages which were not clearly marked as entertainment pages. I also assessed whether these items were prominently positioned stories, notices, snippets or pictures with extended captions and whether the coverage was about local art and artists. The tone and style of similar reports in different newspapers were also assessed. During the interviews I tested the results against the perceptions of the respondents.

Research question 2: What resources have been allocated to Cape Town's community newspapers for arts coverage and the development thereof?

This was addressed through in-depth interviews with editors of the papers being assessed as well as the writers who report on the arts for them. Among the questions posed to them were whether the papers they edited had dedicated arts reporting staff and what resources – be they human, financial or training – had been invested in developing the arts reporting in their papers.

> **Research question 3:** What kinds of arts reporting is included in Cape Town's community newspapers?

Questions relating to the kind of arts reporting covered in the papers under review were included in my interviews with editors of the papers being assessed as well as reporters who write about arts and entertainment. This question was also addressed through using both of qualitative and quantitative content analysis. In this case, the kind of reporting refers to both the different disciplines represented on the arts pages, as well as different kinds of reporting types, for example, review, profile, snippet or notice. The content was also analysed for the use of public relations material.

> **Research question 4:** What are the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for community newspapers in Cape Town?

Questions relating to the challenges faced by journalists who cover the arts for community newspapers were posed to editors of the papers in the sample, as well as reporters who write about the arts and entertainment for these papers.

> **Research question 5:** What role does the coverage of the arts in Cape Town's community newspapers play in the development and/or promotion of local arts and entertainment industries?

Answers to this question were sought through interviews with editors and reporters as well as industry professionals who interact with the media, including arts practitioners and public relations representatives, and former judges of the South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards. In addition to this, content was also assessed to determine whether they focused on local, national or international artists, and how many of the total number of arts and entertainment items focused on each of these, respectively.

3.5 Research ethics

Ethical clearance for this study was granted by the University of Stellenbosch and permission to do research in my own environment was granted by my employers. I have taken into consideration that I am the editor of a number of papers within the field I am researching. To avoid potential ethical conflicts, I have analysed the content of three of the papers I edit but refrained from including my own ideas into the data, and made sure that I did not influence the opinions of interviewees. To ensure this, I allowed interviewees to compose their answers in their own time and email them to me, rather than having a discussion about the questions I was asking. All of the interviewees whose input are included in this study, were informed what my research focus is, gave verbal consent and agreed to have their opinions included and credited to them. The two interviewees who preferred not to be named, are referred to as Publicist 1 and Publicist 2

3.6 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to outline the study design and methods which would be employed to assess the state of arts reporting in the Cape Town-based community newspapers in the research sample. The chapter started with a discussion of the mixed methodology approach to research, drawing comparisons between this approach and the arguments in favour of combining qualitative and quantitative content analysis methods. I also drew comparisons between the artistic genres focused on in the 2006 *Hisses and Whistles* study and those used in this study, which assessed the arts and entertainment content of nine Cape Town-based community newspapers. Included in the research sample were a total of 32 editions of these newspapers, which are all distributed free of charge, include corporate- and independently-owned newspapers and some of which are published weekly and others monthly.

This chapter also included a discussion on the research design, which in this instance is case study, which answers the “how” and “why” questions (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 545) and derives “an up-close and in-depth” understanding (Yin, 2012:4) of the content in the research sample and the decisions, newsroom practices and conditions which have led to this content being published in the newspaper. This was followed by a discussion of the research methods being used – including qualitative and quantitative content analysis and interviews with editors, reporters, communications practitioners and former judges of a national arts journalism competition. The chapter concluded with a summary of the research questions and the methods which would be employed to answer each of them.

Chapter 4 includes a detailed discussion of the findings of this research undertaking.

Chapter 4: Presentation and discussion of results

Ever since media and mass communication has been studied academically, scholars have been concerned with what the functions of the media are or should be (Fourie, 2007b: 185). Among a range of options, two important functions, informing and entertaining media consumer, have been defined. By providing useful information and entertainment, the media contribute to the cultural growth of individuals and society (Fourie, 2007b: 187).

According to Fourie (2005: 4), the overall purpose of normative theory is to "develop a yardstick against which media performance, accountability and quality can be measured". Among the central questions of normative theory, he noted, are around how and what the media publish and circulate as matters of public concern; how media cover different perspectives of society and what the social responsibilities of the media are (Fourie, 2005:14-15). This responsibility, Fourie (2007b_ 194) added, is fulfilled largely by the media "setting professional standards" and collectively representing "all social groups and reflect[ing] the diversity of society through publishing a variety of viewpoints and giving the right to react to these viewpoints". To this, Ward (2009: 299) added that social responsibility is closely linked to journalism ethics and standards which can be used by the public as well as industry bodies to evaluate the media's performance. As was stated in Chapter 1, I have therefore chosen to use a combination of functionalism and normative theory, which can be summed up as the "ideal functions of the press and what the press ought to do" (Benson, 2008: 2591), to interrogate how community newspapers in Cape Town are covering the arts.

4.1 Results of quantitative research

4.1.1 Kinds of reporting

A total of 285 entertainment items were read and analysed for this study. As outlined in the previous chapter, these arts and entertainment items were categorised as notices, stories, profiles, book reviews, reports on past events and previews of upcoming events. Further analysis of the research sample revealed that most entertainment content comprised single-paragraph "what's on" notices (129 of the total number of items), followed by pictures with extended captions (47), personality profiles (36), stories about upcoming events (26), snippets (a short entertainment story, which contains more information than a what's on notice – 21), book reviews (13), competitions (7), show review or report on past event (5), arts/entertainment-related letter (1). This is illustrated in **Figure 1.**

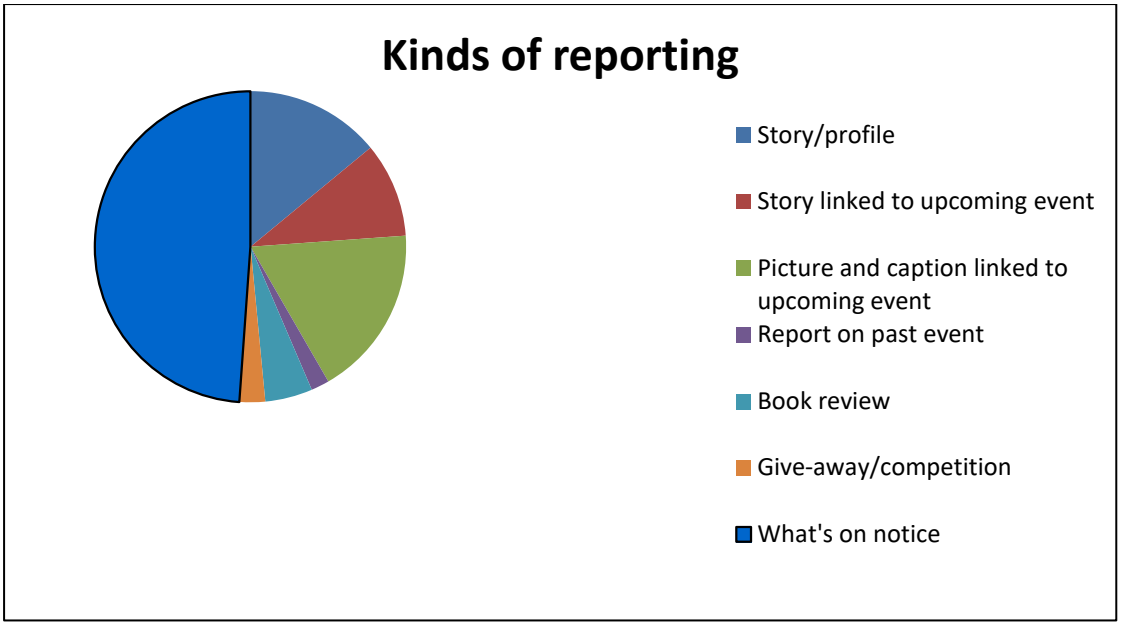

Figure 1

4.1.2 Artistic disciplines reported on

My basic clip count also aimed to determine how many of the total number of items focused on each of the following arts/entertainment disciplines: music, dance, theatre, comedy, books/literature, visual art, and other (which would include multidisciplinary events, festivals or entertainment events not related to the aforementioned disciplines). Music, by far, was the most represented art form (144 items), followed by theatre (40), comedy (30), visual art (24), dance (17), book/literature (17) and other (13). **See Figure 2**

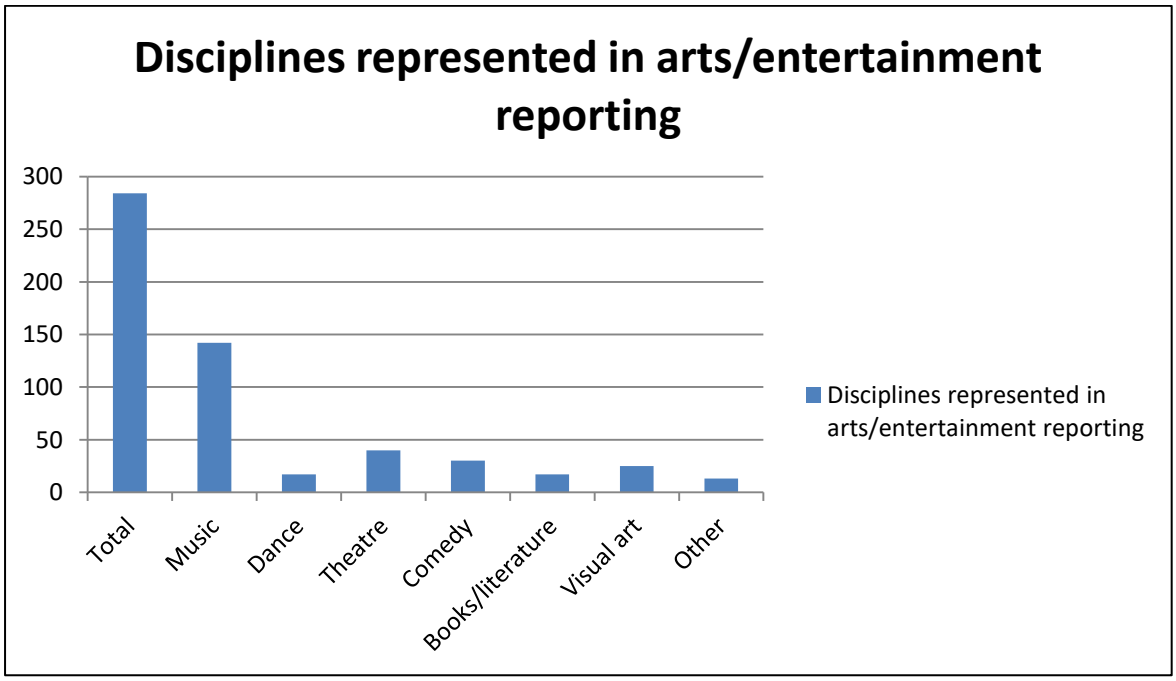

Figure 2

4.1.3 Average number of items per edition

As part of this assessment, I also looked at the average number of arts and entertainment-related items which appeared per edition of the nine newspapers in my sample. In total, 32 editions were assessed: two editions of *Cape Flats News*; two *Muslim Views*; two *Impact News*; four *Vukani*; four *Southern Suburbs Tatler*; four *Northern News*; five editions of *Tygerburger* Durbanville; four *City Vision* Khayelitsha Mfuleni and five editions of *People's Post* Claremont Rondebosch. While the papers differed significantly in their average number of pages, with the editions of *Tygerburger* in my sample ranging from 32 to 44 pages, and *Northern News* as small as eight to 12 pages, the average number of pages dedicated to the arts was fairly standard – between one and two – and in only a few editions, three. What differed, was how the space was used. For example, in the September 3, 2015 edition of *Northern News*, which had a total of 8 pages, and half a page dedicated to entertainment, six items were used. In contrast, the August 2015 edition of *Muslim Views* dedicated one full page to a single story about the arts. *Tygerburger* far surpassed the other titles in this count as it carried regular "What's on/Wat's waar" columns which featured between 17 and 31 entertainment notices a week (*Tygerburger*, 2 September 2015; *Tygerburger*, 9 September 2015; *Tygerburger*, 16 September 2015; *Tygerburger*, 23 September 2015 & *Tygerburger*, 30 September 2015), maximising the amount of arts and entertainment content the paper was able to publish each week. Its average number of arts and entertainment items a week, including these notices, was 29.

Tygerburger was followed by *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, with an average number of 11.5 items a week. The *Southern Suburbs Tatler's* average was boosted by its use of a large number of images with extended captions, relating to upcoming events. *Southern Suburbs Tatler* was also one of three community newspapers (all owned by Independent Media) which published a weekly book review on its entertainment pages (Joss, 2015a – 2015j). Apart from these book reviews, only two other reviews were published in the papers in my sample – one book review in *Muslim Views* (Morton, 2015) and a short theatre review in *Cape Flats News* (Philander, 2015). **See Figure 3**

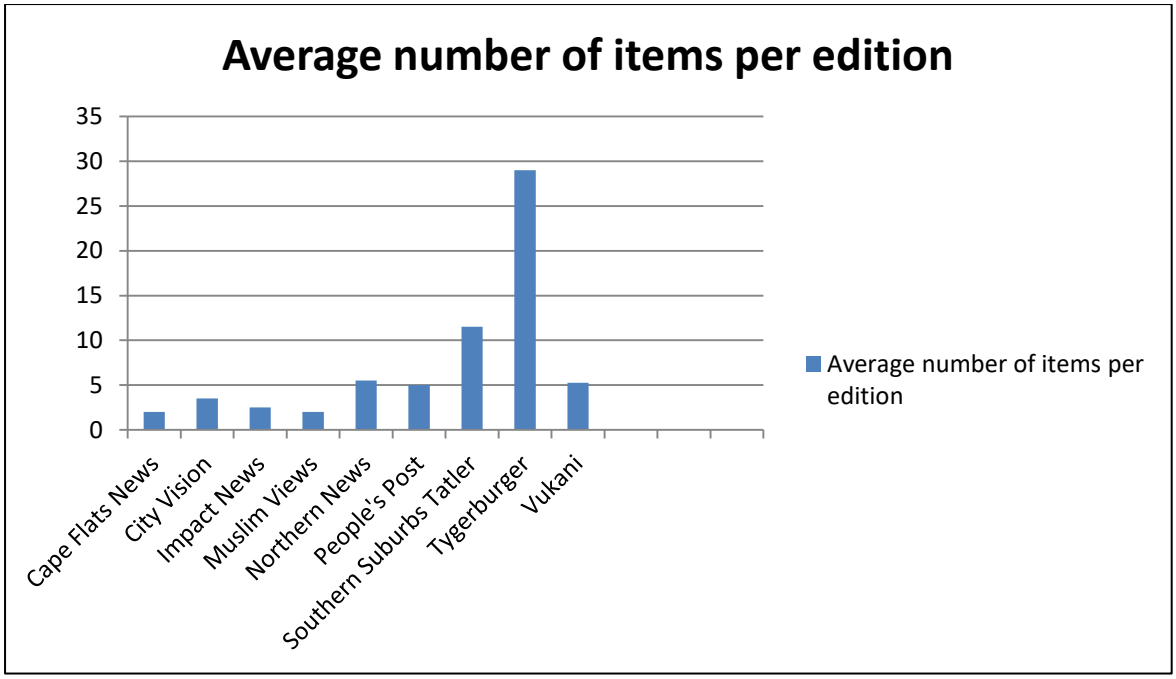

Figure 3

4.1.4 Who is getting coverage: is the focus local, national or international?

When comparing how much coverage was given to local artists compared with national and international artists, the balance weighed heavily in favour of arts and entertainment items with a local focus. Local, in this case, refers to artists from Cape Town, while national and international refer to artists from the rest of the country and the rest of the world, respectively. In cases where an international artist was featured, the coverage was always linked to an event at a local venue. While events at venues like the Baxter Theatre and Artscape Theatre featured prominently in many papers in the research sample, *Northern News* and *Tygerburger*, in particular, featured events happening in their area of coverage, that is Cape Town's northern suburbs, more prominently. In all instances in which a reporter interviewed an artist, the story was used in a paper that had a direct link to either where the artist lived or operated from. Of the total number of 285 arts and entertainment items in the research sample, 240 of them focused on local artists, 33 on international artists performing in Cape Town, and 33 on national artists or events involving artists from around South Africa. The table below **(Figure 4)** shows a breakdown of these numbers per newspaper title.

Newspaper	Local focus	National focus	International focus
Cape Flats News	3	1	0
City Vision	14	1	0
Impact News	5	0	0
Muslim Views	2	0	1
Northern News	17	1	4
People's Post	22	2	1
Southern Suburbs Tatler	36	1	8
Tygerburger	126	5	14
Vukani	15	1	5
Total	240	12	33

Figure 4

4.1.5 Attribution of content

While RQ2, which relates to the amount of newsroom resources which have been allocated – or not allocated – to arts coverage, was largely interrogated through qualitative content analysis and interviewing editors and reporters who write about arts and entertainment, examining how much arts and entertainment content was published under a reporter's byline compared with that published without a byline, gave much insight into this question as well. Comparing this data with the responses of editors and reporters highlighted that in newsrooms where few resources were allocated to arts reporting, one of two things happened – either a limited number of entertainment items were used – as was the case with *Cape Flats News* and *Impact News* – or a number of unattributed items were used as secondary stories on pages which carried arts/entertainment stories written by reporters. This was often the case with *Southern Suburbs Tatler* and *Tygerburger*.

Of the total number (285) of arts- and entertainment-related items counted in the papers in my research sample, 129 were what's on notices. Of the remaining 156 items, only 43 were attributed to writers, with the rest appearing under a "staff reporter" byline or no byline at all. When asked whether it could be assumed that copy used without a byline or with a generic byline was PR material, the editors interviewed for this study gave mixed responses with only one confirming that this was the case "more often than not" (Rudolph, 2016). As such, it cannot be assumed that all stories published without bylines are drawn from PR material, and will, therefore, simply be referred to as "unattributed copy". **Figure 5** shows the number of

stories which appeared under a byline, compared to the number that carried no byline or a generic byline. What's on notices were excluded from this comparison. In the section below on qualitative content analysis, I go into detail about the differences between attributed and unattributed copy, in terms of writing style, adhering to accepted journalistic practices, among others.

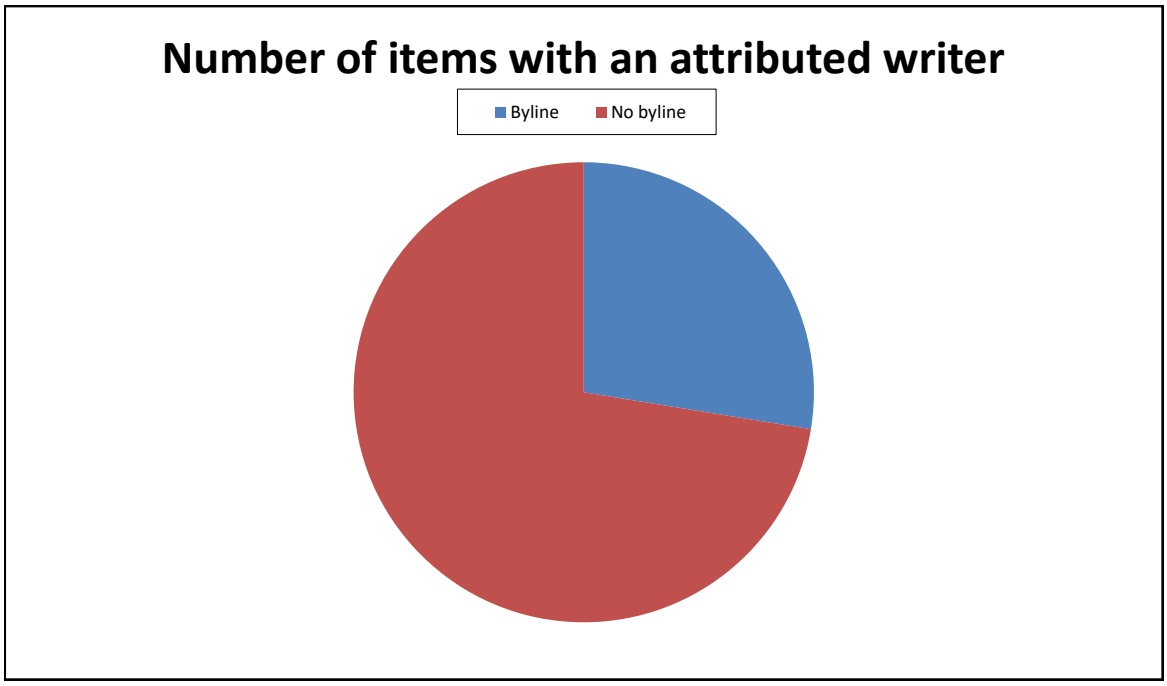

Figure 5

4.2 Results of qualitative research

4.2.1 Content analysis

4.2.1.1 Focus of arts and entertainment reporting

Assessing the focus of arts and entertainment reported contributed to answering research question 3 which focused on the kind of arts reporting included in the papers in my sample. RQ3 was also further interrogated through interviews with editors and reporters. Overall, the majority of the arts and entertainment items included in my research sample were linked to an upcoming event, with very few reporting on past events. Arts and entertainment items were generally "detail-driven", with the emphasis placed on what's happening, when and where. Unattributed content on the entertainment page could largely be divided into two categories: that which was written in a style that was emotive and colourful and sometimes heavy with jargon, and that which had been edited to include only the essential details. A good example to illustrate this, is the material about the "Jazz in the Native Yards" event which was published in two of the papers in my sample. One devoted half a page to the event, with the story including emotive phrases such as "one of the most original and compelling groups", "their repertoire ... has wowed the crowds wherever they have played", and "...integrated unit, bonded by their youthful enthusiasm" (*City Vision*, 10 September 2015, p.12). The other paper publicised the event through only a single paragraph which had been edited to include only a short description of the event, the venue, date, time and contact details of the organisers (*Vukani*, 3 September 2015, p. 16).

Both *City Vision*, and its "rival" Independent Media title, *Vukani*, carried local content, with a focus on artists from the areas they serve. The editions of *Vukani* in the research sample contained far more content related to events at mainstream Cape Town venues such as the Artscape and Baxter theatres, than *City Vision* did. Also reflected in the *City Vision* sample was a great emphasis on gospel music events.

In the independently produced papers in the sample, very little – if any – focus was placed on upcoming events in their entertainment reporting. While in *Muslim Views* arts-related reporting tended to focus on symbolism and description of, and reflection on the work being written about, *Impact News'* focus was on local residents' achievements in the arts and entertainment industry, with *Cape Flats News* placing little emphasis on entertainment news at all.

4.2.1.2 Tone and writing style

Overall, none of the items analysed in this study had a negative tone or were critical of what was being written about. This includes all the book reviews which appeared during the monitoring period, as well as the one theatre review. This does not, however, mean that all the items were complimentary or had a positive tone. On the contrary, most were written in a way that was detail-focused with a tone that is best described as "sober", i.e. neither positive nor negative. Reporters' interviews with entertainment personalities, however, were written in a far more relaxed, conversational tone when compared to news items in the same editions, with reporters often referring to their subjects by their first names.

Generally the unattributed content was very positive in its tone, using very descriptive language, yet lacking a clear description of what one could actually expect to experience at the event. An example of this is the report on the opening of an exhibition called *Karoo Disclosure*, in which reference is made to works that are "pivotal" and "highly contentious" (*Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p.10). While this succeeds in rousing emotion, the piece doesn't give any indication what the exhibition is about. In other instances, however, unattributed content seemed to have been edited to the point that it was devoid of description, quotes and atmosphere, leaving only the what, when and where behind. In many cases, the same unattributed content about upcoming events appeared in a number of titles, with this usually being the case with the corporate-owned newspapers.

Generally, the arts and entertainment stories which appeared under the byline of a reporter were well written and researched, often containing multiple voices and insights, and allowing the artist to speak for him or herself. This is in contrast to unattributed content which often only quoted an authority figure, such as directors, producers or managers. An example of this is "Merry Widow of Malagawi at Artscape" (*Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p.19), which makes reference to a "leading" comedian who stars in the production, but is weighed down by an overwhelming amount of technical detail relating to costume design, musical direction and previous performances by the cast, and quotes only the artistic director.

What was also evident in the content written by reporters was that it tended to be personality-driven, engaging with the artist, rather than the art itself. As a result these articles allowed the artist to describe his or her work, but did not include a critical assessment of the work by the writer. In most self-generated stories about visual art, apart from "Raffiq Desai: Life's a 'puzzlement'" (*Muslim Views*, August 2015, p.31), there was little indication that the reporter had even seen any of the work he or she was writing about. For example "The artistic way of telling history" (Hirsch, 2015) was prominently used across the top half of a tabloid

page, with a one-column image of the artist – but none of the artwork which was the focus of the article, or descriptions thereof. Analysis of the arts and entertainment items also showed that stories which were researched and written by the papers' reporters, usually related to music, theatre and comedy and were in almost all cases linked to upcoming performances, exhibitions or other events.

4.2.1.3 Placement of arts and entertainment stories

In terms of positioning, content written by the papers' reporters was often used to anchor the page on which they appeared, i.e. these stories appeared as the main story, with other entertainment items published as secondary items on the page. In many cases, however, and particularly in Independent Media's community newspapers, this self-generated arts and entertainment content appeared on news pages rather than on the entertainment pages, which were largely dominated by short reports on upcoming events at mainstream entertainment venues. As was already stated, the weekly book review was a regular on the entertainment pages of the Independent Media titles.

4.2.1.4 Cross publishing and "re-purposing"

What also came up quite strongly through the content analysis, particularly in the corporate-owned titles, was that much of the same content appeared in the different papers, albeit used in different ways. A good example of how content is repurposed to make it relevant to the readerships of different newspapers is the report on the youth music festival which appeared in *Vukani*, *Southern Suburbs Tatler* and *Northern News* Bellville/Durbanville during the same week, but with different introductions for each paper, which reflected local news angles ("Young soloists chosen for youth music festival", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p.31; "Music festival showcases young talent*", Vukani*, 24 September 2015, p.42 and "Music festival showcases young talent", *Northern News*, 24 September 2015, p.8). Another example that saw information about the same event repurposed – and in at least two cases followed up as stories – was the reporting on the winners of the annual Sanlam portrait competition, with reworked version of the media release (Mapheelle, 2015) used in *Northern News* (10 September 2015, p.5) and *Southern Suburbs Tatler* (10 September 2015. p.10) and interviews with top achieving artists in the September 9 and 23 editions *Tygerburger* (Steyl, 2015f ; Steyl, 2015j). *The People's Post*'s use of the winning portrait and its painter across two-thirds of its front page on September 8 was the most prominent use of an arts/entertainment piece in my research sample.

During the week of 17 September 2015, the same unattributed content relating to the ballet *Giselle*, and an accompanying ticket give-away was used in *City Vision*, *Tygerburger*, *Northern News*, *Southern Suburbs Tatler* and *Vukani*.

There were also examples of the same stories which reporters reported on for different newspapers, which appeared during the same week. In both cases, the interviews with the artists were linked to upcoming events, with reports appearing in "rival" publications *Vukani* and *City Vision* (Magazi, 2015; Maseko, 2015) and *Southern Suburbs Tatl*er and *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch* (Kotze, 2015; Steyl, 2015b).

4.2.2 Interviews: Editors

Because "functionalists study patterns, rituals and routines along with their consequences for society and its members" (Burrowes, 1993: 4), I interviewed editors to better understand the structures and newsroom practices which determined how the arts and entertainment were reported on in their newspapers. The editors of the nine community newspapers were all asked to complete the same questionnaire (added as Addendum A), which focused on the amount of space and resources – both financial and human – allocated to arts reporting; who co-ordinates content on the arts pages, what they feel is the role of arts reporting and what kind of challenges they face when trying to cover the arts adequately. These questions were posed because they are directly linked to the research questions which have been developed as part of this study. Because three of the papers in my research sample have the same editor, and I excluded myself for practical and ethical reason, there were a total number of six editors left to be interviewed for this part of the research.

4.2.2.1 Space allocation

Fourie emphasised that the media is required to reflect the diversity of media content, ensuring that it delivers a balance between information, entertainment and other kinds of content, as well as differing opinions (2007b: 189). He further noted that while entertainment, which had become one of the dominant functions of the media, served the primary purpose of entertaining media consumers, it also had the ability to "inform and educate media consumers, on a manifest and latent level, about life and society" (2007b: 220). Also important to note is that, according to social responsibility theory, the media should represent all social groups of society (Fourie, 2007b: 194), one of which is the arts sector. This therefore supports the proposition that it is important for editors to allocate space to arts and entertainment reporting in their newspapers.

However, when asked how much space was generally allocated to arts and entertainment in each edition, most editors said on average only one to one and a half tabloid pages were set aside for stories on arts and entertainment, while the editor of *Cape Flats News* indicated that there was no dedicated space allocated to the arts in the paper (Rudolph, 2015). The editor of *City Vision* noted that due to space constraints he was only able to include as little as a quarter page of arts reporting "if you are lucky" in each edition of his weekly newspaper (Sonandzi, 2015). This was supported by the findings of my content analysis. However, there were a number of instances when stories about the arts appeared on pages marked as news pages.

4.2.2.2 The kind of arts and entertainment content that's published

Editors were also asked what kind of arts and/or entertainment stories were prioritised for publication in their papers. While most indicated that the focus was on showcasing local artists and events, Sayed (2016), editor of *Muslim Views,* said that his paper's focus was on covering as broad a spectrum as possible, "covering everything from "calligraphy [to] painting, sculpture, music, fiction and non-fiction writing [and] architecture". He also noted that their positioning as a faith-based paper dictated how they covered arts and entertainment:

> Being a faith-based newspaper, the entertainment genre has a particular meaning. There is also the question of certain genres being entertainment among certain readers but would mean something else to others. A good example is Qawwali (Sufi music – singers accompanied by musicians): Those Muslims who do listen to Qawwali (not all Muslims do) consider it more spiritual than entertainment. On the other hand, especially in the West, it is regarded as entertainment by some. (Sayed, 2016)

The editor of *People's Post* noted that one page of entertainment was set aside for the editions which had local entertainment stories available, and that general entertainment copy would only be placed after local news items had been placed (Hume, 2016). Sonandzi, who edits *City Vision,* one of the two publications in the sample which are distributed to township areas and informal settlements, said when he had space for arts and entertainment reporting, decisions about what to use were very sharply focused. (According to Census 2011, a township, in the South African context, is usually "an urban residential area created for black migrant labour, usually beyond the town or city limits".) Sonandzi noted:

> Traditionally in the townships you will find music, gospel in particular leading, this is due to the fact our readership tends to very religious [but] young arts groups are often neglected. (Sonandzi, 2015)

Of the nine papers in my research sample, none had a dedicated arts editor. The three Media24 titles, however, benefit from the services of a group arts co-ordinator/editor who oversees the arts content of the company's *Tygerburger*, *People's Post* and *City Vision* titles (Sonandzi, 2016 and Meyer, 2016). However, noted Sonandzi, "you will find her selections are 'too urban' for us. It would be city hall events rather than kasi halls. She is (also) a designer and reporter". The editors of *Muslim Views* and *Cape Flats News* said the title editor took on the responsibility of co-ordinating the arts pages (Rudolf, 2015; Sayed, 2016), while *Impact News'* editor said he left the coverage and co-ordinating of arts and entertainment reporting to "a freelance writer with an interest in arts, culture and music" (Lategan, 2015). Cape Community Newspapers, which publishes *Northern Ne*ws, *Vukani* and *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, had a dedicated arts editor who has since retired. During an interview with one of CCN's reporters, which is dealt with in detail in a separate section of this chapter, the importance of having had someone in this role was highlighted (Kotze, 2016).

Of particular significance is the fact that not one of the community newspapers included in this study employed dedicated arts reporters. The responsibility of covering the arts was designated to news reporters or group arts writers or co-ordinators who fulfil multiples roles, including ones unrelated to arts journalism. Others – such as *Muslim Views* and Cape Community Newspapers - employ the services of freelance arts writers to produce regular arts columns and book reviews. Sonandzi explained how it worked in his newsroom:

> [W]e have all-rounders who really are news hounds whose knowledge of arts is desperately ill. Press releases and requests come to the editor, who after the promoter or artist has nagged enough will [have] his/her information [used] as a notice. (Sonandzi, 2015)

In addition to having no dedicated arts reporters, editors also indicated that they do not have access to any human or financial resources to improve their coverage of the arts, with at least two of them indicating that arts reporting was often taken on as a "labour of love" by staff who were either directly involved in arts and entertainment, or were interested in it (Rudolph, 2015; Sonandzi, 2015). One editor, however, pointed out that the arts specialist shared by the

three Media24 publications in this study had been provided with a smart phone as well as additional training, including but not limited to the Cape Town International Jazz Festival's arts journalism programme (Hume, 2016).

4.2.2.3 The role of arts reporting and challenges faced fulfilling it

When asked what role they felt arts reporting played, editors' responses varied from informing readers of what's happening (Meyer, 2016) to inspiring young artists (Sonandzi, 2015). Meyer (2016) emphasised that due to space constraints her paper no longer carried reviews of events which had already taken place, while the editor of *Muslim Views* said he saw the role of arts reporting as being "two-fold":

> ... one, enhance appreciation of art amongst our readers and, two, to create discussion, debate and engagement among Muslim scholars and with the broader community on the place of art in Islam. Some among the orthodoxy see no place for art in Islam. (Sayed, 2016)

Furthermore, all editors interviewed felt it was the responsibility of community newspapers to provide a platform for up-and-coming artists because "community newspapers provide one of the few spaces for emerging artists... [and a]s publications rooted in the community, they should, in fact, be seeking out up-and-coming artists (Sayed, 2016); because coverage from a community newspaper "ensures a human connection between artist and community" (Rudolph, 2015) and because for many young artists, "the interview with their local paper is the first coverage they'll ever get" (Meyer, 2016).

Hume (2016) however, noted that journalists sometimes spent a lot of time interviewing and writing articles about up-and-coming artists who "have disappeared quicker than you can say 'published'". While it was important to provide a platform to showcase new talent, she noted, if that platform were afforded to just anyone "regardless of their talent, the relevance of the said platform comes under scrutiny".

When asked to address my research question (RQ4) which relates to the challenges journalists who write about the arts for community newspapers face, editors highlighted that the arts "do not enjoy high priority" (Rudolf, 2015), that in many newsrooms journalists were required to be "all-rounders" (Sonandzi, 2015) without necessarily having the knowledge or flair to write confidently about the arts and that arts reporting was often seen as a "luxury" with

arts pages being the first to fall away when advertisements had to be accommodated (Meyer, 2016). On a more philosophical level, noted the editor of *Muslim Views*:

> [The] challenges are two-fold. As a "Muslim" newspaper, where do we draw the line between "permissible" and "impermissible" art, given that there are a range of opinions on the matter among Muslim scholars. We should be creating more space and scope to widen this discussion in our newspaper but – and this brings us to the second challenge – the lack of financial and, particularly, human resources are a challenge. (Sayed, 2016)

4.2.2.4 Quality of reporting

Because normative theory relates to the norms and standards expected of the media (McQuail, 2008: 186), I asked editors – and reporters - what they considered to be "good" arts reporting. (The reporters' responses are dealt with in section 4.2.4.) All the editors agreed it must be "fair and objective", with a strong "human interest element" and that it should include a variety of stories which cover many different art forms. Lategan (2016) also pointed out the importance of reviews being written in a way that allows readers to make up their own mind, and of ensuring that a diverse array of artistic disciplines are represented on the arts and entertainment pages. To this list, Hume (2016) added the importance of building good contacts which will enable the journalist to report on industry news, and "being able to give readers a good sense of an artist's style of feel – being able to use words to describe what they do".

When asked what they would define as "bad" reporting on the arts, all of the editors placed their focus on the use of PR material and the processing of stories rather than producing original content. Sayed (2016) emphasised that "community newspapers, especially those that have the resources, should have no excuse to resort to PR hand-outs. That is not only 'bad' reporting but is, in fact, not journalism" (Sayed, 2016), while Lategan (2015) said that "bad arts reporting often see[s] publishers punting certain artists who are in some way or the other connected to or beneficial for the publication". Hume (2016), editor of People's Post , answered this question with only one word: "churnalism", which she described as rewriting press releases and publishing them as stories. However, when asked to rate, on a scale of 1 to 10, how dependent they were on PR copy to either fill their entertainment pages or provide leads for entertainment stories, three of the editors rated their dependence at 6, 7 and 8. Only one editor indicated that he did not depend on PR copy at all.

When asked about the heavy reliance on PR copy, Steyl, a reporter who writes about the arts and also acts as arts co-ordinator for the three Media24 titles in my sample, said while she preferred not to use press releases, there was simply too much for her to cover on her own (Steyl, 2016).

4.2.3 Interviews: Arts promoters and communications practitioners

In order to get a better understanding of how arts promoters and communications professionals viewed their relationship with the community media as well as their assessment of how well – or not – Cape Town's community newspapers are reporting on the arts, email interviews (see Addendum C) were conducted with 11 people who responded to my call for respondents. These calls for response were sent to 15 communications professionals I, in my capacity as newspaper editor, had received arts and entertainment-related press releases from between 30 June 2014 and 1 July 2015. All but one of these respondents are based in Cape Town, with a number of them working on national accounts. The one who is based outside of Cape Town, however, was based in the city up until two years ago. One of them is a community arts practitioner who does the promotion of his shows, himself. The two respondents in this category who preferred not to be named in this report, are referred to as Publicist 1 and Publicist 2.

All respondents felt they had a good relationship with the community press, using words like "accessible" (Ironsi, 2015), "professional" (Vickers, 2015) and "co-operative" (Publicist 2, 2015), among others, to describe the reporters they have worked with. One of them noted that because she worked in an area served by many different community newspapers, she was not always able to liaise with all of them, so it helped to have a central person like an editor or arts editor or co-ordinator to deal with who would be able to pass relevant material on to journalists serving particular areas (Friedmann, 2015). Another pointed out, however, that her good relationship with the community press was "largely dependent on me for ensuring that I understand the characteristics of each publication, its news values, its general editorial focus and its readers so I am able to offer appropriate content" (Vickers, 2015).

Of the 11 respondents, seven believed the community press had a responsibility to help promote local artists, with two disagreeing, and two undecided. When asked how they felt the community press was faring with regards to arts reporting, five felt Cape Town's community press was doing well, with five saying their performance was average and one feeling they were doing badly. In their responses to questions around obligations of the community press

and the ability they had to help promote new artists (which relates to research question 5), one publicist pointed out that the community press could be particularly powerful in their promotion of local arts and culture because they had such extensive reach (Crous, 2015), while another highlighted their role in bring people from different backgrounds and areas to common spaces and thereby promoting social cohesion (Publicist 1, 2015). Another respondent emphasised that community media are often the only avenue available to smaller venues to promote themselves (Gilbertson, 2015). There were, however, a number of respondents who did not believe that there should be an obligation on community media to promote the arts or local artists (Friedmann, 2015; Kruger, 2015; Davids, 2015), but pointed out that when they did do so, they "played a huge role in introducing many art forms and disciplines to the public" (Friedmann, 2015) To this, Davids (2015) added:

> After all is said and done. No matter how noble the cause of our production, the newspaper is a business. Thus all editorial decisions is based on advertising space, fairness towards other similar organizations like ours who are also vying for editorial space with their productions and the newsworthiness of our productions.

When asked how they felt the community press were faring in terms of promoting new talent and developing audiences, some felt the community media were doing well, while many others felt there was room for improvement, particularly when it came to allocation of space for arts and entertainment reporting and using experienced, credible writers to review shows and write about the arts (Eichenberger, 2015). Some communications practitioners also acknowledged that while there exists a "willingness ... to assist with publicity" (Vickers, 2015), the lack of resources available to cover arts and entertainment prevented many community newspapers from doing so. Vickers also noted that while performers and producers are often encouraged to place advertisements in the paper to ensure that there is a resultant increase in editorial space, many simply do not have the resources to do so.

4.2.3.1 Role of PR in determining what appears on arts/entertainment pages

Because the use of PR material on entertainment pages has been highlighted as a concern (which I discussed in my literature review) I asked communications practitioners for their views on the matter and how often their press releases were used verbatim. Nine of the 11 interviewed indicated that their releases were mostly used "as is", with two saying they were

sometimes used verbatim and sometimes used in an edited format. One indicated that when her press releases were "merely ... intended as the starting point for a story" she invited journalists to review shows or interview artists for a "more rounded, in-depth story" (Vickers, 2015). Another noted that he had never seen his press releases "used as news leads [in community newspapers] as far as I can remember (Publicist 2, 2015). Friedman (2015) noted:

> There are community paper journalists who will run with a story, attend an event and perhaps report back as a review using material from the release [but] not too often do they use the material to further develop a story unless perhaps through an interview.

Davids (2015), however, bemoaned the fact that his content was often reduced to only a few lines and used as a what's on notice.

While most respondents – eight of the eleven interviewed – did not feel that the use of press releases on the entertainment pages impacted negatively on a publication's credibility, one pointed out that the coverage was no less credible, but certainly less unique in that many other publications would be running the same copy – or versions thereof (Kruger, 2015). Those who didn't think there was a problem with using PR content, pointed out that "if a release is well written there is no issue with running it as is" (Publicist 2, 2015) and that "we do expect them ... to display their journalistic prowess and integrity when publishing a story that was not written by them" (Davids, 2015).

Crous (2015) also pointed out that while audiences would be none the wiser if content were copied and pasted from publicity materials supplied by PR practitioners, she felt using press releases was lazy journalism. She noted, however, that the practice was widespread and that "you get it all the time and not only in community press". Two respondents noted that press releases are researched and written for the media – not necessarily for media audiences – and that it was the responsibility of journalists to do further research and adapt these releases for their specific audiences (Publicist 1, 2015; Gilbertson, 2015).

Vickers (2015), a communications professional who has extensive experience in the industry and is also a former community newspaper journalist, warned against the use of PR content which was "90% marketing hype and only 10% tangible information", the standard of which was often poor and would reflect negatively on the publication's credibility. To this, Adams (2015) added that the responsibility of communicating with the media was often

"handed to individuals or small agencies with events and marketing expertise who view PR as simply 'free advertising'".

> While press releases announcing shows or events have their place, they still do not replace experiential articles written by professional journalists who review them. They also cannot replace a journalist's interviews with performers, which generally offer far more credible depth than most press releases do. (Adams, 2015)

Because communications professionals had indicated that what they sent the media, was often what was used – in many cases verbatim – on the entertainment pages, these PR practitioners were asked how much of a role they felt they played in determining which artists and events were given exposure on the pages of community newspapers.

Few respondents, however, believed they wielded significant influence in this regard, with one noting that she didn't see that has her right or responsibility: " [the decision about] whether what I provide is newsworthy and can be published belongs to the editor" (Adams, 2015). In her response to this question Vickers (2015) noted that PR practitioners did influence content selection, "but only where it dovetails with the vision of the editor"

Another promoter felt that smaller venues and lesser known artists were discriminated against, while more established artists and venues set the entertainment news agenda.

> Due to the fact that we are competing with the commercial theatre establishments such as the Baxter, Artscape, GrandWest , Theatre on the Bay, Fugard theatre etc for the proverbial "bums on seats", creates the dilemma that in most instances newspapers will opt to report on the same commercial theatre establishments productions on a weekly basis. We must count ourselves very lucky if we get a [short] mention once every two to three months, regardless of the newsworthiness of the story. This smacks of "discrimination" between those that have and that don't. (Davids, 2015)

4.2.3.2 Community newspapers and the local artists they feature

When asked what they felt the role of the community press was in promoting local artists and developing new audiences, publicists agreed that community newspapers played an integral role, with some saying that exposure in the community press was often key to the success of a

young artist or of productions at smaller venues. Friedmann (2015) noted that many up-and-coming artists "may not be afforded the same exposure in the larger publications" and that exposure in the community newspapers was also very valuable to "the people behind the scenes" such as directors, producers and sponsors.

Expressing her thoughts on the media's role in preserving indigenous culture, Vickers noted that "the cultural dominance of 'popular culture', especially as it is packaged by Hollywood and the global mass media, can result in a form of cultural imperialism" and that in the long term, inundating media consumers with foreign culture could "distort the perspective of local communities and their view of entertainment" (Vickers, 2015). She further noted that:

> If we are to preserve our own culture – and in a South African context that can be unique to different communities within a city or region – then the support of the community press in promoting and local artists becomes an important social responsibility. By promoting local artists the community press (and mainstream press) maintain a cultural balance, through creating local heroes. It also goes further to preserving our unique local culture and the arts for future generations".

Davids, a community arts practitioner, placed his focus on the responsibility of the community press to uplift communities and community-based artists. He argued that in their coverage of local arts, community newspapers should "not always focus on the end result production by only by stating the what, where and how much, but write about the human interest aspect of the production" (Davids, 2015). He also felt that community newspapers should focus on the "back-story of how such productions came to fruition". Dams (2015), who has 10 years' experience in the industry and specialises in the arts, believes that community newspapers have a role to play in educating both audiences and artists, providing artists who do not have the resources to employ communications practitioners, with the tools to engage directly with the media and to "provide better understanding as to how community press expects information or news-worthy content to be supplied to them".

4.2.3.3 Community newspapers (should) do things differently

Respondents to this part of my study were also asked whether they felt the kind of arts and entertainment reporting carried in community newspapers should be different from that run in mainstream or commercial newspapers. There was a nearly even split, with six of the eleven

saying community arts reporting should be different from that of the commercial papers, four saying no and one saying "yes and no". All had strong opinions to support their stance. While those who said "no" generally supported their viewpoints by making reference to quality of content, that is, that community papers should strive to the same standards upheld by mainstream papers, others believed that if community newspapers reported on the same arts and entertainment events being covered by mainstream newspapers, it would benefit the arts industry by getting their news to larger audiences. On this point, Eichenberger (2015) noted:

> It is important that what is happening mainstream is communicated through the local papers as well as local entertainment. However, identifying up and coming talent from the area should be exposed and particularly those who are now in mainstream performance. Local theatre offers new talent and if reporters were able to attend productions they would find new personalities to write about. There should be reviews of local productions to guide communities as to what to see.

Others who felt there should be a distinct difference between arts and entertainment reporting in community newspapers and commercial newspapers, highlighted the importance of local focus, creating platforms for lesser known artists and directing readers to events happening in their neighbourhoods. Wright (1960: 608) also believed that community newspapers play – and should play – a different role from larger metropolitan titles because they focus on telling local stories rather than duplicating mainstream news. Friedmann (2015) noted that a community newspaper should "talk to its readers" and should also play a role in reaching young readers who do not buy mainstream or commercial newspapers, and thereby expose a younger audience to the arts. To this, Gilbertson (2015) added that readers "like to know they make a difference and artists or events have a connection with them" and that if the artists they were reading about were from the area they lived in, or was personally known to them, they may be more likely to support the event being reported on.

One of the respondents, however, was undecided, saying that while she turned to daily and community newspapers for an overview of what was happening, she turned to her community newspaper for "a little more depth and information about shows and events taking place in my specific area" and "interviews with people performing in the show – and these are especially interesting if a performer is from my area" (Vickers, 2015). Davids agreed that community newspapers should take a different approach to arts and entertainment reporting,

but pointed out that often smaller theatres and amateur arts groups were "double victimised" by the media who, he believed catered largely for rich, middle class readers. He added:

> Community newspaper will contribute greatly towards "being agents of change" by publishing arts and cultural stories that not only differ with the mainstream reporting in its content by giving it a "human interest" face as opposed to writing arts and cultural stories that is a marketable production advert parading as a journalistic story. (Davids, 2015)

The media studies scholar Pieter Fourie noted that the community media sector was developed because media messages had been "largely targeted at the wealthy and literate and cater[ed] to the perceived needs of the middle and upper classes" (Fourie, 2005: 26). One therefore has to ask the question: if more grassroots arts practitioners feel the way Davids does, if the community newspapers are adequately fulfilling their role in the mediasphere. Furthermore, writes Fourie, when community newspapers become dependent on advertising to cover the costs of their production, there is an increased focus on the "commercialisation and popularisation" of the papers, which sometimes leads to the blurring of the differences between community and commercial media (Fourie, 2005: 24).

While most PR practitioners rated the arts and entertainment reporting in community newspapers highly, some felt there was room for improvement, that more creativity should go into coverage and that entertainment reporters needed to make themselves more visible by attending more events and therefore deepening their own knowledge of the industry (Kruger, 2015). Two felt that community newspapers' arts and entertainment coverage was "only as good as space allowed" (Friedmann, 2015; Vickers, 2015). Another was far more scathing in his assessment, saying that arts stories did "not always reflect the lives of the ardent readers" and that rather than relegating arts and entertainment stories to the "Cinderella pages" of the paper, editors should consider setting aside a section of the paper for coverage of the arts (Davids, 2015).

When asked what they considered to be good arts reporting, most respondents put the emphasis on accuracy and the amount of work reporters put in to expand on press releases sent to them, others pointed out that a good arts report would leave the reader "with no doubt as to what he or she can expect from a show or event" (Vickers, 2015) and that good arts reporting was the result of newspapers using "credible reviewers" (Eichenberger, 2015).

Others emphasised the importance of research an "informed writing" because many journalists were not necessarily trained in the arts and because "each discipline has [its] own language", it was important for the journalist to use correct terms when reporting or writing about the arts (Friedmann, 2015).

Another publicist noted that good arts reporting should be constructive, even when it is critical because "a review by one individual can make or break any production" and that a "constructive report on what is produced on stage is all that's required – any personal opinion should be left out of the equation and up to the audience to decide for themselves" (Publicist 1, 2015). Furthermore, noted another:

> Community papers are really important for the arts. Lots of journalists like the idea of arts and entertainment reporting (they go into it thinking it's glamorous) then realise not all the time. They must realise that the artist or event they are writing about is the life of the person…. Not just another story. More training would be a good call. (Gilbertson, 2015)

4.2.4 Interviews: Reporters

Six of the seven reporters whose bylines appeared on more than one story about the arts in my research sample were interviewed for this study (see Addendum B). Of these, none had formal training in the arts or in arts and entertainment reporting, apart from one who had completed the music journalism course run alongside the Cape Town International Jazz Festival by Gwen Ansell (Steyl, 2016). All had an interest in the arts which they used to carve a niche for themselves in their respective newsrooms. D'Arcy (2016), who has been writing the *Art's for All* column for *Muslim Views* for the past 23 years, said he had no specialised arts journalism training, but that his writing was informed by his love for and involvement in the arts as a painter and author. He believes the work of disadvantaged artists was seldom publicised, but that "art will sell if newspaper reporting gives fair exposure to budding artists". Community newspapers, he added, "have a vital role [to play] in the encouragement of art appreciation and art development" (D'Arcy, 2016). Kotze (2016) also emphasised the role seniors in the newsroom played in mentoring young reporters who wanted to write about the arts and noted:

> My training was on the job, and experience-led. The old stalwarts were great as they taught me to look at each production from many aspects: the whole, and then all the parts: lighting, direction, set, sound, voices, and individual roles etc.

> also to view the traditional vs modern interpretations of classic pieces. (Kotze, 2016)

While all of the reporters interviewed wrote about the arts regularly – as often as weekly, and for a number of community newspapers in their group - only one did not have to split her efforts between writing about general news and entertainment. However, she noted she was also involved in the production of the paper for three days of the week as well as managing the Twitter profiles of the *People's Post* and *Tygerburger* titles (Steyl, 2016).

Collison, who until very recently worked for CCN, writing arts stories which were run in a number of CCN's titles, now works for the *Mail & Guardian*. As The Other Foundation's Rainbow Fellow at the paper, his focus is writing about issues which affect the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) community, but he said he would "be finding ways to include arts coverage as part of this" (Collison, 2016).

Petersen (2016), who worked in community newspapers for more than 10 years before moving to a mainstream newspaper, said part of her duties as a sub-editor at the *Cape Argus* included sub-editing stories about the arts and entertainment-related content. In her experience, she said, she had not had any specialised training, and had to be an all-rounder.

When asked about the kind of arts and entertainment stories they prioritised when deciding what to write about for their newspapers, all the reporters interviewed linked their choices to a focus on local artists (Joss, 2016; Kotze, 2016), helping to promote "up-and-coming, relatively unknown black art initiatives" (Collison, 2016) and stories about amateur artists based in or performing in the paper's area of coverage (Steyl, 2016).

Asked about the resources made available to them in their capacity as reporters who write about the arts, all of those interviewed highlighted that little to no additional resources had been invested in the arts reporting function. Collison (2016) also highlighted the importance of developing black arts writers, noting that "there is ... a great need for more black arts writers".

When asked what they felt was the role of arts reporting, all the reporters felt it played an essential role, not only in helping the artists gain exposure, but also because the arts can be "agents of change" (Kotze, 2016). The reporters also felt it was important that arts reporting in community newspapers focus on "amateur artists" (Joss, 2016), "inform, entertain and educate" readers about the talent in their communities (Steyl, 2016) and be an accurate "reflection of society" without "pandering to the art market" (Collison, 2016). Petersen (2016) also felt that apart from reporting on the arts for entertainment purposes, this kind of reporting

could help inspire "especially the youth from impoverished/underprivileged areas, to work towards pursuing the dreams".

Because RQ5 aimed to ascertain what role the community newspapers play in the promotion of the local arts and entertainment industries and the development of audiences, the reporters were asked whether they thought community newspapers should be a platform for up-and-coming artists. Collison, in fact, felt so strongly about this, that he emphasised that community newspapers should play an advocacy role in this respect. He noted:

> Community Newspapers should, in fact, try to spearhead the finding, nurturing and publishing of both up-and-coming artists as well as aspiring black arts writers. Community newspapers, because of their "direct hit" model - as well as the "emotional investment" its readers have with it - could play an integral role in shaping the arts environment. (Collison, 2016)

To this, Steyl (2016), however, added a cautionary note:

> ... not every "fly-by-night" performer "deserves" a feature. This may sound harsh, but it's a lesson that I learnt the hard way. Entertainment space in a community newspaper is often very limited and I simply cannot afford to use that valuable space for performers who are just trying the scene out and will disappear as quickly as they appeared. It harms the credibility of the title and prevents me from using the space for others who actually need it.

When asked about the challenges they face in their work, the reporters highlighted a lack of space (Kotze, 2016), large volumes of entertainment releases to sort through and prioritise (Steyl, 2016) and "the limited geographic reach" of community newspapers, which was highlighted by Collison (2016) who noted that "oftentimes I would think, 'yes this guy lives in Athlone, but I want this story in all our papers because this story needs to be heard by everyone'". They also felt it was important that the kinds of arts reporting they engaged in for the community newspapers, differed from that in the mainstream newspapers, with Joss pointing out that readers should be able to say: "That's my neighbour, the actor, I read about in the paper." Their reasons for supporting this difference centred on their local focus (Kotze, 2016) and that community newspapers "should unearth hidden talent" (Collison, 2016). This focus on the local, neighbourhood news was apparent in the stories in my research sample,

which often placed specific emphasis on where the artist lived or had lived and which area arts- and entertainment-related events were happening in.

In their reflections of what "good" arts reporting is, Joss (2016) focused on informed writing, emphasising that writers who report on the arts should "have a love for live theatre in all its diversity and see as many productions on the professional and amateur stages as they can", while Collison (2016) felt good arts reporting was "layered, critical and tells a story with heart". Bad journalism, on the other hand, was described in terms of the use of press releases and "hand-outs" (Joss, 2016 & Steyl, 2016), "lazy, dispassionate" writing (Collison, 2016) and "too many cold, technical facts" (Kotze, 2016).

4.2.5 Interviews: Judges of arts journalism competition

In an effort to get another assessment of arts reporting from outside of the newsrooms involved in my research, I interviewed Christopher Thurman (Addendum E) and Gwen Ansell (Addendum D) who have both, among other things, served as convenor of judges of the South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards. While Thurman himself has not had any formal arts training beyond high school level, he noted that "I regard my degrees in literary studies as useful preparation for the arts writing I've done" (2016). Ansell, too has had not specific training in the field of arts journalism, but points out that she believes that "my whole education and experience helped shape" her as a writer (2016).

When asked about what they felt the role of arts reporting is, Ansell argued that's role was no different from the role of any other reporting – "to tell readers what's going on" – and that arts critics could be likened to analysts who contribute to other beats (2016). To this, Thurman added that arts reporting helped to provide critical feedback to artists, to let readers know what's happening and to provide "access or a vicarious experience for those unable to engage directly with a particular artist or work" (2016). While Ansell felt the state of arts reporting in print media was "disastrous", she said this was a reflection on the industry rather than the quality of the reporting done by arts writers.

> Almost none of those writers have jobs as arts writers: they are often freelancers, which means their contributions appear intermittently. This prevents the development of a discourse around arts genres … Editors don't know the field, so there are often gaps in the coverage when important events are taking place. (Ansell, 2016)

Thurman also lamented that space allocated to arts reporting in print media as well as the number of writers working the arts beat had "diminished", but pointed out that this decrease had been "balanced out by growth online, both under the aegis of established titles and through blogs". Neither Thurman nor Ansell could provide an exact indication of how many entries in the SA Arts Journalist of the Year Awards had been from community newspapers, with Thurman estimating that it "probably wasn't more than 10-20%" and Ansell noting that it was "far fewer than I would have hoped for".

When asked how they felt arts reporting in South African community newspapers could be improved, Thurman suggested "better sub-editing, more commissions of reviews/interviews/commentary unrelated to advertising or other commercial concerns, [and] greater and deeper subject knowledge on the part of reporters", to which Ansell added, "more space and more investment".

Thurman and Ansell had differing opinions on whether community newspapers should be a platform for up-and-coming artists and whether the arts reporting in community and mainstream newspapers should be different. While Thurman felt community newspapers should "absolutely" be a platform for these artists, Ansell argued that "no newspaper should be a platform for anybody". However, she added:

> Community newspapers are privileged in having often unique access to the micro-level of local cultural activity. It is disappointing that they do not use that access to create unique stories, but prefer to print syndicated gossip. (Ansell, 2016)

On the matter of differences between arts reporting in community and mainstream papers, Thurman stressed that while attention must be given to the local, this should not be done at the expense of being "entirely parochial", while Ansell said only the scale was different, with community arts reporters writing for a "smaller, local pool".

When asked about the challenges they believed community arts reporters faced, both Thurman and Ansell raised the threat of external pressures – either by editors to cover certain events (Thurman, 2016), or from local advertisers "who are often allowed too much freedom to call the shots on how stories are handled" (Ansell, 2016). Furthermore, noted Ansell, another challenge facing these reporters was that there was a lack of understanding of their beat by editors and sub-editors and "pressure on their time because they are expected to report on everything".

To draw on her specialist knowledge gained in the field of arts journalism training, two additional questions, relating to the importance of specialist arts reporting training and how important it was for arts writers to have an inherent interest in the arts, were posed to Ansell. In both instances, she noted that arts reporting was "just like any other beat" but that specialist reporting was indeed important because "general journalists can only explore a topic so far because they don't have the knowledge to go further". Reflecting on whether anyone could be trained to be an arts writer, she noted:

> Writing is a craft – just like woodwork. Anybody literate and reasonably smart can be trained to do it competently – to do it brilliantly – that is where the passion and commitment come in.(Ansell, 2016)

However, she lamented, writing about the arts is not a career path because "nobody pays you for it these days" and newspapers are "unwilling to spend on any specialist journalism".

4.3 Summary

From the interviews and content analysis it is clear that there is not a disregard for arts and entertainment reporting, or a lack of acknowledgement of the importance of including these kinds of stories in their newspapers. Both editors and communications practitioners also agree that community newspapers can – and often do - play a vital role in promoting the work of up and coming artists, and helping to grow new audiences for artistic endeavours. On this, Steyl (2016) noted that she enjoyed being able to put new acts in the spotlight and following them to help them get further exposure, noting that she wrote extensively about Mark Haze before his success on the reality talent TV show, *Idols*. Analysis of the arts and entertainment content in the newspapers in my research sample, however, revealed that only few of them were about new, unknown artists, with even fewer of them critically engaging with the artists' work in a way that could influence opinion about it.

The overarching challenge, it would seem, is a lack of human resources, with arts reporting being left to staff who have an interest in the arts and entertainment industry – or being pushed to the bottom of the priority list in favour of hard and development news. Furthermore, while all the editors interviewed indicated that it was not their first choice to use press releases – or edited versions thereof – on their entertainment pages, most arts and entertainment items counted in this study were not attributed to a specific writer, indicating,

arguably, that they had not been researched and written by reporters employed by the newspaper.

Also weighing in on the discussion with their thoughts on the use of PR copy on entertainment pages, communications practitioners were divided in their opinions. While many indicated that their press releases were intended to be a source of information for media professionals, rather than published as entertainment stories, they also empathised with editors who had limited resources at their disposal to adequately reflect what was happening on the local arts scene. Many of them were also happy to have their content published because their clients were happy with the exposure this gave them.

While most communications practitioners didn't believe they were contributing to the decisions about what was used on the entertainment pages of community newspapers , or that it was within the scope of their job to do so, my assessment of the 32 editions included in my research sample, indicated otherwise. Quite evident, and particularly so in the corporate-owned community newspapers, was that the same stories were being used in many different papers. Sometimes the lead for these stories had been picked up from a press release, researched and written by reporters, and other times unattributed pieces were published, either as a short news story, a what's on notice, or an image with an extended caption. Nonetheless, it was largely the same events and the same artists who were being featured in the papers I assessed.

Through my content analysis, it also became apparent that we in the community newspaper industry had become adept at repurposing stories to suit different readerships, with stories making specific references to areas that people live in, work in or used to live in, to connect them to particular distribution areas, and thereby make them relevant to different newspapers. In this way stories were used in multiple titles, but papers still retained their local focus. And while there exists the possibility that reporters might waste valuable time and space reporting on artists who quickly fade away, Marshall pointed out that if community newspapers were not reporting on these newcomers, they stood little chance of getting any exposure. He also noted that:

> … community based arts and artists have traditionally suffered from being reported on superficially or cursorily. Space is at a premium in print, and pressure is on to be flashy and trendy online. Actual, meaningful reporting suffers as a result – especially for arts, which suffers from a celebrity-focused big brother syndrome. (Marshall, 2015)

The challenge for reporters who write about the arts, it appears, is that they do not have the time to focus on arts reporting because in most cases they perform multiple roles in the newsroom. This notion is supported by Sonandzi (2015) who pointed out that the arts co-ordinator who oversees the arts and entertainment copy for a number of papers owned by Media24, is also responsible for page design. In her own assessment of her job requirements, she noted that she was also responsible for "do[ing] my best to cover entertainment news from across the Cape Peninsula, processing press releases and setting up entertainment diaries, work[ing] on layout, helping with *People's Post* and *TygerBurger* [and] arranging, processing and setting up competitions, as well as managing *TygerBurger* and *People's Post's* Twitter profiles (Steyl, 2016).

The situation at the smaller, independently owned newspapers is even more dire, with severely limited resources and staff forcing them to focus only on the most important of news events. In the next chapter I will explore some options for overcoming the challenges highlighted in this section of my study.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Chapter summary

The purpose of this study was to assess how community newspapers in Cape Town were reporting on arts and entertainment. As described in Chapter 1 of this study, this was motivated, in part by my own interest in arts reporting, the impact having an arts and entertainment editor – and then not having one – had had on my own newsroom, as well as the absence of community newspapers from the research sample of the 2006 *Hisses and Whistles* study undertaken by the Media Monitoring Project (now Media Monitoring Africa).

In that chapter I also outlined the research problem: despite scholars agreeing that community newspapers were important (Opubor, 2000; Weinberg, 2011; Hadland & Thorne, 2003), that arts contributed to society by connecting people and enabling them to celebrate heritage (Goss, 2001) and that reporting on the arts was equally important (Wasserman, 2004), there was no evidence of any research having been done on arts reporting in community newspapers.

Also included in Chapter 1 were the general and specific research questions which this research undertaking sought to answer, with the general question being: What is the state of arts reporting in community newspapers in Cape Town? The five specific research questions are dealt with in detail later in this chapter. I also outlined my methodology and approach, opting to use a case study design coupled with quantitative and quantitative content analysis and interviewing as research methods.

Chapter 1 also included a preliminary literature review which revealed that little formal academic research had been done on South Africa's community newspapers industry and arts reporting in this country, with not one study having been done on arts reporting in the community press. The fact that media and culture industries "play a crucial role in meeting society's need for information, entertainment, communication and creativity, promoting the value of heritage, expression and diversity, and supporting democratic process" (International Labour Organisation, 2014: 1), further motivated the undertaking of this research project.

Chapter 2 expanded on this preliminary literature review, presenting research which had been done in the fields of community newspapers and the media landscape, the role and significance of the arts in society and current debates around the state of arts and entertainment journalism. This chapter also discussed the newsroom challenges which were impacting arts reporting, not only in South Africa, but around the world. These challenges included the juniorisation of newsrooms, limited space allocation for the arts and the increasing necessity

for reporters to become all-rounders, with the former and last also being identified as challenges by editors and reporters who were interviewed for this study.

In Chapter 2 I also outlined the theoretical frameworks which guided this research. These were functionalism, which describes the role of media in society, and normative theory which focuses on what the media ought to do, or how it ought to function in society (McQuail, 2008: 14). Using a combination of these two theoretical frameworks enabled me to examine whether the media was fulfilling its functionalist roles of providing information, explaining or interpreting events, expressing the dominant culture, entertaining and campaigning for social objects (Fourie, 2007b: 188), as well as assessing how well it was performing in terms of the normative expectations of the media. Of the four specific normative theories, I opted to draw on social responsibility theory which is underpinned by the right to freedom of publication, coupled with the responsibility to society and requirement to maintain high journalistic standards (Fourie, 2007b: 194). During interviews conducted with editors, reporters and communications practitioners, it was interesting to note that many of those interviewed for this study described the media and its role, using terminology related to functionalism and normative theory.

In Chapter 3 I outlined my research design and detailed the methodology followed during the course of this research project. I chose case study as my research design because it is well suited to research which asks "how" and "why" questions (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 545). In this case, the "how" related to how the arts and entertainment were being reported on in Cape Town's community newspapers; and the "why" to why it was reported on in a particular way. Having initially considered doing a national study, I found the case study research design enabled me to, instead, narrow my focus and concentrate on a purposive sample which would give me some insight into the phenomenon I was researching. It is my hope that my research will be a stepping stone for a broader, more detailed study which looks at arts reporting in community newspapers around the country, in both urban and rural areas, and in indigenous African languages as well.

Included in the research sample for this study were nine community newspapers which cover different parts of Cape Town. Three of them are independently owned, three owned by Media24 and three by Independent Media. Six of these titles are distributed weekly and three monthly. All are distributed free of charge. In total, there were 32 editions which were monitored during a one-month period in 2015. In the case of the papers which are published once a month, an extra edition of each was added to the research sample.

Opting to use a mixed methodology approach, I used both quantitative and qualitative methods to gather the data from my research sample. After having done a basic clip count, to ascertain how many arts- and entertainment-related items were in the sample, I used quantitative and qualitative content analysis to better understand what kind of arts reports were being published, what artistic disciplines were being reported on, how many stories were attributed to reporters and how many focused on local, national and international artists – and how many of each. Using qualitative content analysis, I was able to scrutinise the articles' tone, focus and adherence to journalistic standards as well as how articles were repurposed for cross publishing, and where they were placed in the paper.

The other qualitative method used to gather data, was interviewing. This method was used to better understand newsroom conditions, challenges facing reporters who write about the arts and what role those involved in arts reporting felt community newspapers played – or could play – in developing the local arts industry or promoting local artists. Questions posed to editors, writers who report on the arts, communications practitioners and two former convenors of the judging panel of a national arts writing competition were based on five specific research questions which are outlined below, along with a summary of the findings for each of them.

In Chapter 4 I discussed in detail the findings of my research, among which was that community newspapers were indeed fulfilling their role of reflecting the communities they serve by, among others, featuring local artists and events on their entertainment pages. A comparison of arts and entertainment stories revealed that the vast majority of the items in my research sample, were locally-focused, with all the stories written by the papers' journalists, focusing specifically on artists from the papers' area of distribution. Stories attributed to reporters, however, were in the minority, with only 15% of the total sample being published under a reporter's byline.

What also stood out in the findings was that not one of the nine papers monitored employed a dedicated arts editor or reporter. Instead, news reporters with an interest in the arts and entertainment, were including arts reporting in their workload; arts reporting resources were shared; or reporters who wrote about the arts were also involved in other newsroom activities. Whatever the case, no one was focused solely on researching and writing arts reports for the papers in my research sample.

Also insightful, were the results of the interviews with communications practitioners and arts promoters, many of whom indicated that their media release were often published verbatim. And while they indicated that these releases had been meant as a "starting point" they understood the challenges faced by arts reporting staff and were often just happy to have

had their client's information published. In my recommendations below, I highlight this, the role of PR in determining what's being covered in newspapers' entertainment section, as being worthy of further academic interrogation.

5.2 Specific research questions

5.2.1 How do Cape Town's community newspapers compare in terms of their coverage of the arts?

A total of 285 arts- and entertainment-related items were counted in the 32 editions in the research sample, with almost half of them (129) being what's on notices, which contained only the most important details of an event, and were only one paragraph long.

Tygerburger, which had the highest average number of arts and entertainment items per edition, maximised the number of items it was able to use, by running a regular what's on column which included as many as 30 to 35 notices per edition. This study also revealed that the independently owned community newspapers ran significantly fewer arts and entertainment items than the corporate-owned papers did, with the former focusing primarily on local events and achievements by locals, and the latter including more events being staged at mainstream entertainment venues. Reviews did not feature prominently in the research sample (apart from a weekly book review column in *Vukani*, *Southern Suburbs Tatler* and *Northern News*), with only one theater review published during the monitoring period.

While all but one of the editors interviewed agreed that it was important to run arts and entertainment stories in community newspapers, they said they were only able to allocate an average number of one page per edition to arts and entertainment stories. Only one editor indicated that arts reporting was not priority when planning the coverage of his paper, while another indicated that local stories took priority, so if entertainment stories did not have a local angle, they were only placed after all other articles had been allocated a space in the paper.

5.2.2 What resources have been allocated to Cape Town's community newspapers for arts coverage and the development thereof?

All the editors and reporters interviewed indicated that no additional resources – neither human, nor financial – were allocated to arts reporting. This meant that reporters were forced to be all-rounders, also having to report on a variety of beats or having duties relating to the production of the paper or managing the titles' social media accounts. Those interviewed said they reported on the arts because it was something they had an interest in and because they believed it was essential to provide a platform for local artists or events happening in the area

their papers covered. Steyl (2016), who co-ordinates the arts and entertainment copy for Media24's *Tybergburger*, *City Vision* and *People's Post* titles, said she spent only two days a week writing about arts and entertainment and for the rest of the week was involved in the production of the titles and running the papers' Twitter profiles.

While reporters and editors alike agreed that specialised training for arts writers was important, none of the reporters interviewed had had such training, with only one of them having completed a week-long course which focused on writing about music.

5.2.3 What kinds of arts reporting is included in Cape Town's community newspapers?

For the purposes of this study, arts and entertainment articles were categorised by type, that is story/profile; story linked to upcoming event; picture and caption linked to upcoming event; report on past event; book review; competition or what's on notice. In this study's research sample, nearly half of the items were what's on notices, followed by stand-alone pictures with captions that detailed the information about the event.

Differentiation was also made in terms of the discipline reported on: music, theatre, dance, comedy, books and literature, visual art and other (including multi-disciplinary events and festivals). Music was by far the mostly commonly written about discipline, followed by theatre and comedy.

Of all the arts and entertainment items in the research sample, only 43 were attributed to reporters. The remaining 113 (excluding the what's on notices) carried either a generic byline like "Staff Reporter" or were published with no byline at all.

In both unattributed copy and articles written by the papers' reporters, there was a strong local focus, with specific reference made to geographical connections to the paper the stories were featured in. Particularly in the articles written by the newspapers' journalists, reporting was personality driven, with artists being allowed to speak for themselves. The vast majority of the arts and entertainment articles in the sample were event-driven, with none critically engaging with the artwork or performance in question.

A number of articles were used across publications, with many of them, however, re-written to reflect local angles relevant to the readership they were being targeted at. Much of this material was PR content, easily identifiable because the same or very similar material appeared in different newspapers.

5.2.4 What are the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for community newspapers in Cape Town?

Among the main challenges identified by editors and reporters were a lack of space, resources and training, with reporters sometimes feeling restricted by the area-specific focus of the titles they worked for. Reporters also lamented the pressures of having to be all-rounders and that they struggled to get through all the content sent to them for publication, or the requests for media coverage. Added to this, Eichenberger (2015) emphasised that a challenge faced by the arts industry was that there were so few experienced or qualified arts critics working in the community newspaper sector.

5.2.5 What role does the coverage of the arts in Cape Town's community newspapers play in the development and/or promotion of local arts and entertainment industries?

Of those interviewed, only Ansell (2016) did not agree that community newspapers should play a role in promoting up-and-coming artists, arguing that it is not the papers' job to promote anyone or anything. The majority, however, felt that if community newspapers had a role – possibly an obligation – to provide a platform to introduce these artists to their communities, pointing out that if community newspapers did not fulfil this role, young artists might not get any publicity at all. Thurman (2016), however, warned that this should not be taken for granted and that community newspapers should beware of encouraging the belief that "anyone can get into the community newspapers". Steyl (2016) also spoke of having provided exposure for young artists who later went on to achieve significant success, while Davids (2015) and Petersen (2016) emphasised the role community newspapers had in inspiring young people when they reported on the work or successes of artists from their communities.

5.3 General research question

What is the state of arts reporting and coverage in Cape Town's community newspapers?

Among the criticisms of the media assessed during June and July 2005 for the *Hisses and Whistles* study (MMP, 2006), was that arts journalists were producing shallow, event-driven reporting, fed to them by publicists and marketers and that much of the arts reporting in the South African mainstream media focused more on *what's* happening, than critically engaging with *why* it's happening or the importance of the content being presented (MMP, 2006: 7). The MMP's study revealed that only 25% of the sample could be classified as being analytical or critical. While much of this may also be true for the articles assessed for this study, it must be noted that the stories which were published under reporters' bylines, stood out

from unattributed articles in that they were well-researched, well-written and of a high journalistic standard. The only content in my sample which could be described as critical or analytical were one short theatre review and 13 book reviews which amounted to about 4.5% of the research sample.

In her reflection of the role of arts journalists and the changes facing the sector, Maupin, who worked as an arts writer for 26 years and described her job as "building bridges between companies and their audiences", laments the fact that bloggers have credentials "vetted by no one by themselves", and that her job became more focused on writing news about the arts than the arts itself (Maupin, 2010: 12). This is supported by Green (2010: 3) who points out that many art critics have been required to take on additional responsibilities, often unrelated to arts reporting , and echoed by the writers interviewed for this study who all fulfil multiple roles in the newsroom in addition to writing about the arts. Jokelainen (2013: 10), however has pointed out that writing about events is an unavoidable part of the job, noting that arts journalists needed to provide "expertise, enjoyable writing ... insight and context – and some consumer services".

Hisses and Whistles also found that advertising and publicity played a significant role in shaping how the arts and entertainment were covered in South Africa (MMP, 2006: 5). While my study did not focus on advertising, qualitative content analysis revealed that, indeed, much of the arts and entertainment reporting in my research sample were event-driven, with the vast majority of the items being what's on notices, the primary purpose of which is to publicise events.

Another area in which the results of my research corresponded with those of the 2006 study, was the discipline which got the most coverage. In both cases this was music, being the focus of 33% of the *Hisses and Whistles* sample (MMP, 2006: 5) and 51% of my sample. In the MMP's study, music was followed by film (23%), literature (13%), theatre (12%), visual arts (8%), mixed genre (8%) and dance being the focus of just 3% of the coverage. In my sample, the numbers were different, with theatre following music, with 14% of the sample focusing on this genre. This was followed by comedy (11%), visual arts (8%), dance (6%), literature (6%) and other (4%).

While in the *Hisses and Whistles* study reviews – at 23% of the sample – made up the largest portion of the arts and entertainment items counted (MMP: 2006: 6), in my research sample, the vast majority of the arts and entertainment content was made up of notices (45%). On the list of the most common types of reporting in the MMP's study, reviews were followed by listings (19%) – which are what's referred to in my study as notices – features (15%), news

stories (15%), briefs (5%), interviews (4%), with opinion or commentary only making up 2% of their sample. In my research, the most common type of reporting after notices, were pictures with extended captions (16%), profiles (13%), stories about upcoming events (9%), snippets (7%), book reviews (4.5%), competitions (2%), with reports on past events and arts- and entertainment-related letters making up less than 1% of the sample each.

While the *Hisses and Whistles* study compared the focus of the arts content in terms of whether it was South African or international, because the focus of my study were community newspapers, whose mandate is to cover local news, I compared content in terms of it being local (that is, relating to artists from Cape Town), national or international. In the former study, 65% of the content was about South African arts, 32% about the arts in Europe and the USA, 2% about arts in te rest of Africa, and only 1% about the arts in Asia (MMP, 2006: 6). In my research sample, local news dominated by far, with this category making up 84% of the sample, international arts and entertainment news, 12% of the sample, and national, 4%.

Green is among the researchers who have written about the drastic cutbacks of arts coverage as well as a decline in the number of people employed by newspapers to write about the arts (2010: 2). While Green's work focuses on the USA, the situation was similar at the community newspapers assessed for this study, with the publications either having no dedicated arts writers, or sharing staff who focus on the arts, with other newspapers. In addition to this, limited space and even more limited resources were dedicated to the coverage of the arts and entertainment. *Hisses and Whistles* too, had highlighted staff shortages, limited budgets and space constraints as some of the newsroom challenges which are impacting arts reporting in South Africa. These mirrored the challenges raised by editors and reporters who write about the arts, who were interviewed for my study, with all of them lamenting the lack of space available for arts reporting as well as the fact that no additional resources – be they human or financial – were available to improve coverage of the arts and entertainment in community newspapers. Added to this, the MMP's study highlighted as a concern for the future of arts journalism, the "lack of young, skilled arts journalists coming up through the ranks" (MMP, 2006: 6).

What this comparison of *Hisses and Whistles* and my study makes apparent, is that despite the scope of two studies being very different, with the former being a national study spanning different media and the latter having been conducted on a much smaller scale and focused only on community newspapers, the challenges are very similar and both paint a fairly bleak picture of arts journalism in South Africa and in Cape Town. And while the respondents

in my study all expressed a sincere desire to cover the arts well, they simply did not have the resources to do so.

Also apparent is that despite the two studies having been done 10 years apart, many of the same challenges exist, particularly so when it comes to the lack of critical engagement with the arts by reporters and the reliance on unattributed content and what's on notices to fill the entertainment pages. A telling indicator of the limited human resources made available to covering the arts for the community papers is the fact that only 43 of the 285 arts and entertainment items counted were stories written by reporters. But even these were largely personality and event driven, with none of them analysing or critiquing the work they were writing about, or which the person they were writing about was involved in.

5.4 Limitations of the study

- Among the limitations of this study was that it focused on a relatively small area, in which community newspaper ownership is dominated by two media conglomerates, Independent Media and Media24.
- The fact that I am the editor of 16 community newspapers published in the city means I was assessing the publications of my competitors which could have influenced how they responded to the questions posed to them. It is possible that they were less inclined to be frank about, in particular the challenges they face, because they were disclosing to their "competitor".
- To avoid potential conflict of interest, I omitted my anecdotal evidence from this study. This means that the input of the editor of three papers in the research sample was not included in the qualitative research component.

5.5 Recommendations for future research

- There is scope for a broader, national study to assess the state of arts reporting in the hundreds of community papers published in South Africa, which reach audiences not catered for by mainstream media.
- Among the recommendations offered by Davids (2015) during an interview for this study, was that community newspaper staff train amateur theatre practitioners and arts enthusiasts to report on local arts and entertainment initiatives for their local community newspaper. With the changes brought about by information and communication technology in the traditional role of journalism, and the increasing acceptance and use of user-generated content (International Labour Organisation, 2014: 6), Davids' suggestion is one that merits further interrogation.

- Local newspapers could also look at drawing on the expertise of arts students, or journalism students who are interested in writing about the arts. An example of this is the American Student Arts Journalism Challenge which helped identify and support talented young arts writers (Bettmann, 2014). A similar initiative run in London, was Arts 360, which saw two young reporters being recruited to find community arts stories, pitch ideas, shoot, edit and present them on an online community news channel. Its founder, Jasmine Dotiwala, noted that the initiative had provided the young reporters with "great training experience" and "a fantastic end product for our audience". Funding for the project, however has since come to an end (Dotiwala, 2012).While these initiatives required funding to sustain them, community newspapers could look at partnering with tertiary institutions so that there's a steady stream of young people contributing arts and entertainment content for their community newspaper.
- Also in line with this is Green's promotion of the idea of non-profit arts journalism organisations which could provide content for other media as well as its own publishing platforms. The decline of commercial media and the accompanying decrease in the amount of arts reporting in newspapers, writes Green (2010: 7) provides an opportunity for philanthropists and journalists who write about the arts to "recreate arts journalism" (2010: 7), with the potential for partnerships to be formed between journalism schools, arts centres or museums (2010: 8). Despite the fact that these kinds of organisations are vulnerable to economic shifts, bringing in only "modestly levels of revenue" (Pew Research Centre, 2013: 10), I believe the viability of this model in the South African media landscape, is worthy of further investigation.
- Also worthy of further academic interrogation is how much of a role public relations professionals and communications practitioners play in determining what gets publicity on the entertainment pages of community newspapers. While editors agreed that using PR copy was "bad journalism" there was no doubt that such copy was indeed being used – in some cases extensively – on the entertainment pages. In her assessment of the situation, Steyl (2016) noted that because of her limited capacity to attend to all the requests for publicity, and to fill the entertainment pages, she had to resort to using PR copy. In addition to this, communications practitioners interviewed for this study confirmed that most of what they sent to the community newspapers was used – often verbatim.

In Jokelainen's paper in which he questions the need for professional arts and cultural journalism, he offers "guidelines for the future" of journalism, emphasising that at the core of an arts journalists' job is the requirement to "go through the large amounts of arts and culture

content so that readers don't have to" (2013: 45); to act fast (2013: 45) and find a different angle (2013: 46) – which is particularly important for community newspapers which are required to offer their readers niche-focused reporting and stories which are "fresh" even after the mainstream press may have reported on them. He also believes that "arts journalists of the future will also be required to have an opinion, placing less emphasis on the goal of objectivity" (2013: 46). Commenting on his thoughts on the future of arts reporting, Bettmann warns that "the business model that once supported a career in arts writing no longer exists (2014) and that:

> Any solution set must embrace a vision of the future arts newsroom considerably less monolithic and diversified than in prior generations.
> (Bettmann, 2013).

And it is perhaps the inclusion of more user-generated content and commissioning of work from partners such as non-profit journalism organisations and tertiary institutions that may very well lead to such diversification.

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5.6.2 Interviews

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5.6.3 Articles included in research sample: Attributed content

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Collison, C, 2015b. “Making connections through the arts”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September, p. 8.

D’Arcy, MC. 2015a. “Raffiq Desai: Life's a puzzlement”, *Muslim Views*, August, p. 31.

D’Arcy, MC. 2015b. “The crescent moon”, *Muslim Views*, September, p. 39.

Desai Chilwan, Y. 2015. “South African Islamic art foundation launched”, *Muslim Views*, August, p. 13.

Du Preez, Y. 2015. “Band members still cruisin'“, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September, p. 17.

Greef, N. 2015a. “Music video honour (sic) women in style” , *Impact News*, August, p. 9

Greef, N. 2015b. “Alecia bitten hard by theatre bug”, *Impact News*, September, p. 15.

Hirsch, M. 2015. “The artistic way of telling history”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September, p. 14.

Joss, B. 2015a. “Read of the week”, *Vukani*, 3 September, p. 16.

Joss, B.2015b. “Read of the week”, *Vukani*, 10 September, p. 10.

Joss, B. 2015c. “Read of the week”, *Vukani*, 17 September, p. 15.

Joss, B. 2015d. “Read of the week”, *Vukani*, 24 September, p44.

Joss, B. 2015e. “Read of the week”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September, p. 21.

Joss, B. 2015f. “Read of the week”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 10 September, p. 13.

Joss, B. 2015g. “Read of the week”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September 2015, p. 17.

Joss, B. 2015h. “Read of the week”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 35.

Joss, B. 2015i. “Read of the week”, *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 3 September 2015, p. 6.

Joss, B. 2015j. “Read of the week”, *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 10 September, p. 6.

Joss, B. 2015k. “Read of the week”, *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 24 September, p. 10.

Kotze, K. 2015a. “Taking the battle for freedom to the Baxter”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September, p. 12.

Kotze, K. 2015b. “Comic Dalin tickles funny bones at Baxter”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September, p. 12.

Magazi, T. 2015. “Mature offering from Nhlakanipho”, *Vukani*, 10 September, p. 10.

Meyer, M. 2015. “BZN gaan grootste treffers sing”, *Tygerburger*, 30 September, p. 12.

Mkonto, Z. 2015. “Heavenly Quartez launch on DVD”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 17 September, p. 2.

Mpeshe, O. 2015. “Zamia dancers rub shoulders with top dancers”, *Vukani*, 24 September, p. 9.

Morton, S. 2015. “Undercover Muslim exposed”, *Muslim Views*, September, p. 29.

Petersen, T. 2015a. “Music academy looking for a new place to call home”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September, p. 26.

Petersen, T. 2015b. “Groenvlei matriculants host dance-a-thon”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September, p. 27.

Philander, R. 2015. “Honouring Dulcie September”, *Cape Flats News*, August/September 2015, p. 9.

Roux, C. 2015a. “Ezra ecstasy”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 1.

Roux, C. 2015b. “Lewenskiekie”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 10.

Steyl, L. 2015a. “Four on saxes to explore sounds”, *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 1 September, p. 9.

Steyl, L. 2015b. “Sir, sir teach us a joke”, *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 8 September, p. 9.

Steyl, L. 2015c. “Oudejans talks his way out again”, *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 22 September, p. 9.

Steyl, L. 2015d. “Singers unite for Verdi opera”, People's *Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 29 September, p. 6.

Steyl, L. 2015e. “Loki delivers for his fans”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 16.

Steyl, L. 2015f. “Huisamen's 'Mandi' on display”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 9 September, p. 18.

Steyl, L. 2015g. “Die 'Skot' kry toe sy eie lewe”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September, p. 28.

Steyl, L. 2015h. “Groep bekoor nuwe geslag”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September, p. 23.

Steyl, L. 2015i. “Not an entertainer but a 'fun facilitator'“, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September, p. 12.

Steyl, L. 2015j. “Juria freezes moments in time”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September, p. 8.

Steyl, L. 2015k. “Three local choirs to join soprano”, *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 30 September, p. 24.

Westman, C. 2015. “Drumming his way to the top”, *Impact News*, August, p. 15.

Williams, M. 2015. “Dynamite in a small package”, *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 10 September, p. 4.

5.6.4 Articles included in research sample: Unattributed content

Cape Flats News

“Stirring manuscript needs publisher”, *Cape Flats News*, August/September 2015, p. 4.
“Sinton best dance crew winners”, *Cape Flats News*, August/September 2015, p. 9.
“Clash of the choirs (sic) choirmasters”, *Cape Flats News*, September/October 2015, p. 6

***City Vision* Khayelitsha Mfuleni**

“Ncandweni back with a bang in Khayelitsha”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mfuleni*, 3 September 2015, p. 2.
“DJs spin discs doe poor kids”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mfuleni*, 3 September 2015, p. 11.
“Gospel music competition on in 'Litsha”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mfuleni*, 10 September 2015, p. 4.
“Poetics invite you to Guga's”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mfuleni*, 10 September 2015, p. 8.
“Jazz in the Native Yards to rock”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 10 September 2015, p. 12.
“Music jobs are back”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 17 September 2015, p. 2.
“Win tickets to Giselle with Vision”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 17 September 2015, p. 5.
“Vote for gospel sensation on FB”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 17 September 2015, p. 8.
“Gospel on crusade”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 17 September 2015, p. 8.
“Baxter teams up with powerful acts”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 24 September 2015, p. 2.
“Chorals celebrate our diversity”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 24 September 2015, p. 3.
“Saba protege Csana knocks”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 24 September 2015, p. 10.
“Artists invited by Anova”, *City Vision Khayelitsha Mflueni*, 24 September 2015, p. 10.

Impact News

“Vuvuzela nation give-away”, *Impact News*, September 2015, p. 14.

***Northern News* Bellville/Durbanville**

“En pointe”, *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 3 September 2015, p. 1
“The boys are back”, *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 3 September 2015, p. 2.

"Mumford and Sins head to SA" *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 3 September 2015, p. 6.
"Ottomanslap", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 3 September 2015, p. 6.
"DVD launch", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 3 September 2015, p. 6.
"Muso at Die Boer", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 3 September 2015, p. 6.
"Little man, big dreams", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 10 September 2015, p. 1.
"Winning portrait on show at Durbanville gallery", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 10 September, p. 5.
"Barrels of laughter", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 10 September, p. 6.
"Rockers at Aces 'n Spades", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 10 September, p. 6.
"After passport issues", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 10 September, p. 6.
"Symphonic praise on Heritage Day", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 17 September, p. 6.
"Arno unplugged", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 17 September, p. 6.
"Former South African...", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 17 September, p. 6.
"Tickets to romantic ballet up for grabs", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 17 September, p. 7.
"Musical festival showcases young talent", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 24 September, p. 8.
"Passion play at Artscape", *Northern News Bellville/Durbanville*, 24 September, p. 10.

***People's Post* Claremont Rondebosch**

"See and buy artwork in Kirstenbosch", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 1 September 2015, p. 9.
"Enter to pirouette in Prague", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 1 September 2015, p. 9.
"Life in an artist's stroke", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 8 September 2015, p. 1.
"Local's portrait wins Sanlam", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 8 September 2015, p. 4.
"City celebrates Music Week", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 8 September 2015, p. 9.
"Trio back together", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 8 September 2015, p. 9.
"People reader", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 8 September 2015, p. 9.
"Charou brings some spiciness", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 8 September 2015, p. 9.
"Local, UK stars dance Giselle", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 15 September 2015, p. 9.

"Zolani and Zoid return to stage", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 15 September 2015, p. 9.
"Cape Town celebrates own music week", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 15 September 2015, p. 9.
"Diamond and friend play Baxter on Saturday", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 15 September 2015, p. 9.
"Kramer music returns", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 15 September 2015, p. 9.
"Showstopper", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 22 September 2015, p. 9.
"Send your art to Anova", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 22 September 2015, p. 9.
"Abracadabra", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 22 September 2015, p. 9.
"Film festival about addiction at Labia", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 22 September 2015, p. 9.
"Enjoy some quality music at UCT", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 22 September 2015, p. 9.
"Music to draw from", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 29 September 2015, p. 6.
"New township jive", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 29 September 2015, p. 6.
"Piet's pratfall", *People's Post Claremont Rondebosch*, 29 September 2015, p. 6.

Southern Suburbs Tatler

"Threw world order", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 2.
"Karoo Disclosure at Iziko", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 10.
"And the winner is...", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 13.
"Waseef Piekaan returns to the stage", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 21.
"Laugh out loud", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 13.
"Win tickets to Ed Kowalczyk", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 21.
"Art exhibition", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 13.
"Mi Casa launch", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 21.
"Mumford and Sons", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 18.
"Merry Widow of Malagawi at Artscape", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 19.
"School play", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 3 September 2015, p. 21.
"Laugh out loud", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 10 September 2015, p. 2.
"Artistic showcase", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 10 September 2015, p. 10.
"Win tickets to King Tutu showcase", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 10 September 2015, p. 13.
"Retrospective", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 10 September 2015, p. 13.

"Experience the art of the guitar", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 10 September 2015, p. 13.
"What's on", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 10 September 2015, p. 13.
"The Cape Town gospel choir...", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September 2015, p. 2.
"Neil Diamond tribute", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September 2015, p. 13.
"Two new shows at Baxter Theatre,", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September 2015, p. 14.
"Win tickets to ballet", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September 2015, p. 17.
"Iron Maiden in city", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 17 September 2015, p. 17.
"Hazy city scenes", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 10.
"Chance for hidden talents to be unearthed", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 14.
"Passion play at Artscape", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 16.
"Art of guitar", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 27
"Award-winning acts showcased at Baxter", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 28.
"Young soloists chosen for youth music festival", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 33.
"Art of guitar"(2), *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September, 2015, p. 33.
"Auditions", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 33.
"Concert", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 35.
"Story of love", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 35.
"Bad Jews", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 35.
"All that jazz", *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 September 2015, p. 35.

***Tygerburger* Durbanville**

"Entries open for chance to dance in Prague", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 13.
"Dutch", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 13.
"Redemption in the ring at Ster Kinekor screen", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 16.
"Whats on/Wat's Waar", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 26.
(17 notices)
"Boschendal-kelder vier 330j met fees", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 17.
"Fine art", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 17.

"Visual arts partner to raise funds for literature", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 2 September 2015, p. 19.
"Akteurs moet hier op hul voete kan dink", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 9 September 2015, p. 12.
"Sing saam aan bekende lietjies by konsert", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 9 September 2015, p. 12.
"Art for cancer at Oude Libertas", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 9 September 2015, p. 18.
"Blood Brothers fight against cancer", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 9 September 2015, p. 18.
"What's on / Wat's Waar", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 9 September 2015, p. 18.
(17 notices)
"Young artists asked to 'picture the face'", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 8.
"Giselle's jetes coming to town", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 20.
"Nuwe album", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 20.
"Kerr arts students showcase talents", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 20.
"Musicians get together", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 20.
"Kramer's Orpheus is back", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 28.
"SK's 'Maya the bee in Afrikaans, isiZulu", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 28.
"American Dance is back", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 29.
"Dan at Die Boer before UK tour", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 29.
"What's on / Wat's Waar", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 16 September 2015, p. 28.
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"That might be funny", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September 2015, p. 24.
"Ster Kinekor launches 'Maze Runner'", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September 2015, p. 24.
"The PE mentalist", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September 2015, p. 24.
"Choral stories of Africa", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September 2015, p. 24.
"What's on / Wat's Waar", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 23 September 2015, p. 23.
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"High drama in true life on Imax", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 30 September 2015, p. 11.
"Animated Hotel Transylvania at SK", *TygerBurger Durbanville*, 30 September 2015, p. 24.
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"Concert", *Vukani*, 17 September 2015, p. 11

"Win tickets to ballet", *Vukani*, 17 September 2015, p. 15

"Kwaai hip hop crew", *Vukani*, 24 September 2015, p. 19.

"Music festival showcases young talent", *Vukani*, 24 September 2015, p. 42.

"Two new shows at Baxter Theatre", *Vukani*, 24 September 2015, p. 42.

Addendum A: Questionnaire – editors

1. On average, how much space is allocated to arts and entertainment reporting in each edition of your paper?
2. What kind of arts/entertainment stories are prioritised for publication in your paper?
3. Do you have an arts editor? If yes, is this the person's sole responsibility? What else is he/she responsible for? If no, who co-ordinates your arts and entertainment coverage?
4. Do you have arts reporters? If no, who is responsible for writing about arts/entertainment?
5. What kinds of resources are allocated to the arts reporting function of the development thereof? By resources I refer to human and financial resources.
6. What, do you feel, is the role of arts reporting?
7. Do you believe that community newspapers should be a platform for up-and-coming artists? Please explain your answer.
8. What are the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for the community press?
9. What do you consider "good" arts reporting?
10. What, in your opinion, is "bad" arts reporting?

Addendum B: Questionnaire – Reporters

1. Please provide me with a short background on your career in writing about the arts, including whether you have specialised training, how long you have been reporting on the arts (and entertainment) and what your current position is.
2. Is arts (and entertainment) writing the core focus of your work? If not, please explain what other duties you are required to perform.
3. What kind of stories do you prioritise when covering the arts (and entertainment) for community newspapers?
4. What kinds of resources are allocated to the arts reporting function or the development thereof? By resources I refer to human and financial resources as well as training and tools.
5. What, do you feel, is the role of arts reporting?
6. Do you believe that community newspapers should be a platform for up-and-coming artists? Please explain your answer
7. What are the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for the community press?
8. Do you feel that arts (and entertainment reporting) in community newspapers should differ from that in mainstream newspapers? Please explain your answer.
9. What do you consider “good” arts reporting?
10. What, in your opinion, is “bad” arts reporting?
11. Are you willing to be named in my research report or do you prefer to remain anonymous?

Addendum C: Questionnaire – PR practitioners and arts promoters

1. How would you describe your relationship with the community press in your area?
2. Do you feel the community press have an obligation to promote arts and culture? Please explain your answer.
3. What role do you feel the community press should play in promoting local artists and developing new audiences?
4. How do you feel the community press is faring in this regard?
5. Of the media releases you make available to the community press: are more used as is (or an edited version thereof) or are they used as news leads which are further developed, and researched by reporters.
6. Do you believe that, through your work, you contribute to setting the news agenda, in terms of what appears on entertainment pages? Please explain your answer.
7. What are your thoughts about arts pages that carry press releases as opposed to original content? Do you feel it is acceptable? Do you think it makes the publication come across as being less credible? Please feel free to explain your answers
8. Do you believe that the kind of arts reporting that appears in the community press should differ from that in mainstream/commercial newspapers? Please explain your answer.
9. How would you rate the arts and entertainment reporting of the community newspapers which serve the area you operate in?
10. What do you consider “good” arts reporting?
11. What, in your opinion, is “bad” arts reporting?
12. Is there anything that you would like to add, which you feel may be relevant to this study?

Addendum D: Questionnaire – Former convenor of judges of South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards (1)

1. Please provide me with a short background on your career in the arts industry, including whether you have specialised training, how long you have been involved in the arts (and entertainment) industry and in what capacity, and what your current position is.
2. What, do you feel, is the role of arts reporting?
3. You are involved in training journalists to write about the arts. How important do you think this kind of specialist training is? Please explain your answer.
4. Do you think it is essential for a journalist who writes about the arts to have an inherent interest in the arts, or can anyone be trained to write about the arts? Please explain your answer.
5. In previous years you have served as convenor of judges for the South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards. From your experience in this position, please share with me some of your thoughts on the state of arts journalism in South Africa's print media.
6. This study is focused specifically on arts reporting in community newspapers. Do you recall, more or less, how many entries were received from writers who write about the arts for community newspapers?
7. How do you feel arts reporting in South African media, particularly community newspapers, can be improved?
8. Do you believe that community newspapers should be a platform for up-and-coming artists? Please explain your answer.
9. What, do you believe, are some of the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for the community press?
10. Do you feel that arts (and entertainment reporting) in community newspapers should differ from that in mainstream newspapers? Please explain your answer.
11. What do you consider "good" arts reporting?
12. What, in your opinion, is "bad" arts reporting?
13. Are you willing to be named in my research report or do you prefer to remain anonymous?

Addendum E: Questionnaire – Former convenor of judges of South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards (2)

1. Please provide me with a short background on your career in the arts industry , including whether you have specialised training, how long you have been involved in the arts (and entertainment) industry and in what capacity, and what your current position is.
2. What, do you feel, is the role of arts reporting?
3. In previous years you have served as convenor of judges for the South African Arts Journalist of the Year Awards. From your experience in this position, please share with me some of your thoughts on the state of arts journalism in South Africa's print media.
4. This study is focused specifically on arts reporting in community newspapers in Cape Town. More or less how many entries were received from writers who write about the arts for community newspapers?
5. How do you feel arts reporting in South African media, particularly community newspapers, can be improved?
6. Do you believe that community newspapers should be a platform for up-and-coming artists? Please explain your answer.
7. What, do you believe, are some of the challenges for journalists who cover the arts for the community press?
8. Do you feel that arts (and entertainment reporting) in community newspapers should differ from that in mainstream newspapers? Please explain your answer.
9. What do you consider "good" arts reporting?
10. What, in your opinion, is "bad" arts reporting?
11. Are you willing to be named in my research report or do you prefer to remain anonymous?